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ART. I.—*Law Ting at Fell Foot, Little Langdale, Westmorland.* By H. SWAINSON COWPER, F.S.A.

Read at Fell Foot, September 5th, 1889.

THE remarkable legislative system in use among Scandinavian nations in early times has attracted the notice of not a few writers; at the same time the subject has not received the attention it merits, and I am not aware of any single volume entirely devoted to it.*

The system put generally was this: each nation or province was cut up into several—generally three or four—main divisions, and these were again subdivided.† In each of these an open air assembly called a *Ting* was held which ranked as follows:—

1. The Parish *thing;* the lowest.‡

2. The Provincial, district, or intermediate *thing*. This was sometimes a circuit court; in Shetland and Iceland, called a *thing soken*.

3. The National, called the law or *al-thing*.

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* Much information on the subject will be found in the following works:—
Hibbert.—*The Tings of Orkney and Shetland, Archæologia Scotica*, vol. iii.
Worsaœ.—*The Danes and Norwegians in England*, pp. 158, 296, 332, &c.
Wilson.—*Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, p. 113.
G. Lawrence Gomme.—*Primitive Folk Moots.*
Train's *Hist. of the Isle of Man*, i, 271.
Mallet's *Northern Antiquities.*

† These divisions varied both in name and number: according to the *Landnama* book, Iceland was cut up into *fiordings* or quarters; each *fiording* contained three or four *thing-sokens*, and each *thing-soken* three *godardar* or *parish things*. The main divisions in Shetland were also called *thing-sokens*. The Ridings of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire Worsaœ considers the equivalent of the S. Norwegian *Tredinger* or thirds of petty kingdoms, in each of which was held a *Treding thing* to which disputed causes were referred from the district (or parish) *thing*. Cumberland and Westmorland are divided into *wards*, which may represent the jurisdiction of the *middle thing* or *soken*. In the less Scandinavian parts of England, the divisions are *Hundreds*. Another form of division found in the Danish parts of England is the "*Wapentake*." Worsaœ surmises that this word may be derived from the Danish *Vaabentag* or *Vaabenlarm* (sound or clashing of arms) that being the manner that assent to a proposition at the *ting* was made. Hibbert however states that a *Wapenting* or general inspection of arms was held within three weeks after the *al-ting*.

‡ The Parish *thing*. In Shetland these were presided over by officers called "*foudes*." Shetland in old charters is called a "*foudrie*." Query: has the "Pile of Foudrie" generally called Piel Castle near Barrow any connection.

At these *things* local affairs were discussed, justice administered, and laws promulgated. A right of appeal also lay from the lower to the upper courts as at the present day to the court of appeal and the lords.

This system seems to have prevailed in a similar form over a considerable part of Northern Europe; traces of it are found abundantly in Norway, Orkney, Shetland, Scotland, Man, and wherever as a matter of fact the Norwegians, and Scandinavians generally, extended their influence.

"The Danes and Norwegians in Northern England settled their disputes, and arranged their public affairs at *Things* according to Scandinavian custom. . . . . There were incontestably in the Danish parts of England certain large or common *Thing* meetings, which were superior to the *Things* of the separate ones. . . . . A law of King Ethelred (Thorpe; *leges et instit. Anglo. Sax.* glossary *Lahman*) which seems to have been promulgated for the five Danish burghs and the rest of the Danish part of England orders that there shall be in every wapentake a gemot, or *Thing*."*

These courts, the sites of many of which are still to be identified by their names,† took place as I have said, in the open air, often doubtless at some well known tree or stone which would serve as a rendezvous; often also no doubt at some stone circle, which, especially if concentric, would be admirably suited for the purpose. Yet sometimes it was considered necessary to erect an earthern mound of peculiar form upon which the court held its sitting.

"Not unfrequently the fences of a ting were concentric; the intent of which was to preserve among the different personages of a ting, a proper distinction of rank. The central area was always occupied by the laugman and 'those who stood with him;' and the outer spaces by the laugrettmen, out of whom the duradom was selected, the contending parties, and the compurgators." ‡

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* Worsaae: *The Danes and Norwegians in England* p. 158-9.

† *Tingvalla* in Iceland, *Tingvold* in Norway, *Tingwall* in Shetland, *Thingwall* in Cheshire, *Dingwall* Co. Ross, *Tinwald* in Dumfrieshire, *Tynwald* in Man, *Dingsted* in the Dutchy of Oldenburg, &c., &c.

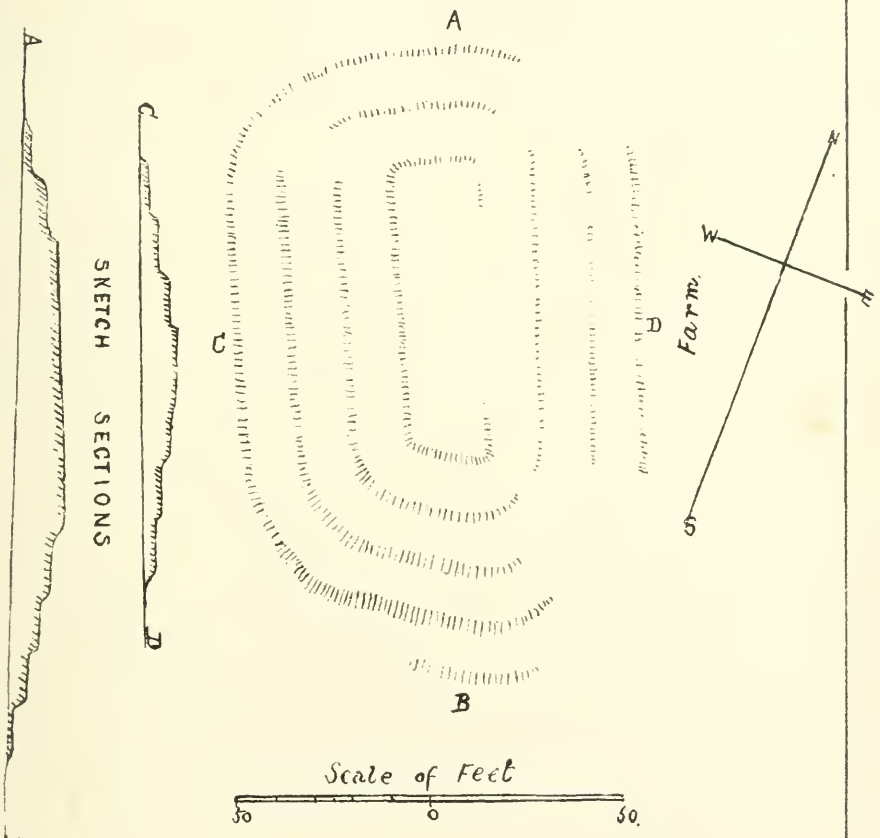
‡ Hibbert, *ut ante* p. 141.

Now

LAW TING

LITTLE LANGDALE

WESTMORLAND.



Now the typical example of a mound specially erected for the purpose and the one which will immediately occur to the members of this society is the Tynwald hill in Man; this may be said to be still used for its original purpose, and so much has been written about it, that it is here only necessary to describe it.

The Tynwald Mount is circular in plan, 240 feet in circumference, and rises by four circular platforms or steps each 3 ft. higher than the one below: the breadth of the lowest is 8 ft., the next 6 ft., the third 4 ft., and the summit 6 ft. in diameter. In former times the whole was surrounded by a ditch and rampart of rectangular form in which was contained the chapel of St. John.*

Let us now compare the mound before us. It consists of an oblong quadrangular platform (the E. side of which is 75 ft., the W. 70 ft., the N. 21 ft., and the S. 19 ft.), surrounded and approached by stepped platforms all of which are of the uniform breadth of 14 ft. On the N. side there are two of these, on the W. three, and on the S. four. The east side has apparently had the same number as the west, but they are partly destroyed or obliterated by a row of ancient yew trees, and by the farm buildings.

The bank of the summit is in places indistinct, as on the east side, especially at the north end. The surrounding terraces are best marked at the south-west corner, where the natural level of the ground is lowest, and here the lowest bank seems about 4 feet high, the next about 2 ft., and the total height at this corner from 10 to 12 ft. The banks seem chiefly formed of earth, but at the south-east corner, where they are partially destroyed, they are stony. The ground upon which the mound is placed rises to the north, and falls to the south; but the terraces and banks of the mound itself rise gently to the south.

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*Worsaæ: *Danes and Norwegians*, p. 296. Britton and Brayley: *Beauties of England and Wales*, vol. iii, p. 290.

Now

Now here it will be noticed, there is a decided variation from the Manx hill, in as much as its plan is an irregular oblong instead of circular. It also covers very much more ground than the Tynwald.

Nevertheless the general scheme of a central space surrounded and approached by parallel stepped platforms is exactly carried out; and in spite of its somewhat different form and the singular fact that no tradition with respect to its origin exists, I venture to suggest that we have here a Scandinavian *Lawmount* or *Ting*, of similar character and belonging to the same period as the Tynwald hill in Man.

Supposing this surmise to be correct it is difficult to guess how large a district would be under the jurisdiction of this court. Both Westmorland and Cumberland are divided into wards, which not improbably represent the judicial divisions. Langdale is in Kendal ward; there is besides every reason to believe that this part of the country was subdivided into small districts, and perhaps the four Westmoreland wards each held a *Thing* to which these smaller assemblies were subordinate. Troutbeck near Windermere was divided into three hundreds or constable wicks, each having its own constable, carrier, and bull.* These are perhaps the remains of an ancient Scandinavian subdivision.

The mound is immediately behind the farm house of Fellfoot, at the head of Little Langdale, and therefore close to the commencement of the pass by Hardknott and Wrynose into Cumberland. It may be readily conceived that at the period when it was constructed there would be no road of importance in the valley, except the Roman one leading over the pass; indeed it may be said there is very little else now. As a matter of necessity therefore the inhabitants of the district constructed the *Thingstead* here in

*Clarke's Survey of the Lakes, p. 134.

a place of ready access to all who should have to attend court.

From the evidence of its position then, as well as the actual size of mound, I should be inclined to imagine that the district under its jurisdiction may have been considerable. Thus it is placed at the base of a series of mountain passes, so that litigants and others could approach from Cumberland by the Hardknott pass, from Great Langdale and Grasmere through that of Blea Tarn, from Elterwater, Skelwith, and Ambleside by the Little Langdale valley, and from Yewdale, Coniston, and Hawkshead by Tilberthwaite.

I am not aware if any significant name is attached to this mound, or the field it is in, but the place names in the vicinity are abundantly Scandinavian. Slight mention of it will be found in one of a series of papers on the Hawkshead district by the late A. Craig Gibson and published in the proceedings of the Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society, new series, vol. 8, and I believe also in his book entitled "*Ramblings and Ravings round Coniston Old Man.*"

APPENDIX.

FELL FOOT HOUSE—On the front of this picturesque mountain homestead may be observed a wooden panel, bearing the Fleming fret with a cross moline, and the crest, a serpent nowed. Mr. George Brown of Troutbeck has favoured me with the following information upon the subject.

"The estate still belongs to the Flemings of Rayrigg; it was purchased in 1707 by Fletcher Fleming who was the youngest son of Sir Daniel Fleming of Rydal, Knight, and brother of Sir William. This Fletcher resided at Fell Foot until his death in 1716; he left a widow and an only son also named Fletcher. The mother and son continued to live there until the son purchased Rayrigg in 1735, from Thomas Philipson (in whose family it had been for many generations). After purchasing Rayrigg, the younger Fletcher appears to have gone to live at it.

The arms over the entrance door will probably have been placed there by the first Fletcher Fleming, as shown by the cross moline in the fret on the arms, which is a mark of cadency for an eighth son, which he would be considered, as two of his brothers died infants."

Sir

Sir Daniel Fleming=Barbara
of Rydal, knt. and bart. | dau. of Sir Henry Fletcher of Hutton, she d. 1675.

Fletcher Fleming=Elizabeth
eleventh and youngest and perhaps eighth surviving son, bought Fell Foot 1707, d. 1717. | dau. of Thos Braithwaite of Windermere.

Fletcher Fleming=Isabella Herbert
Fell Foot and afterwards of Rayrigg. | of Kendal.

Fletcher Fleming. Agnes. Isabella. Barbara.

Note by the Editor.—It would be well to ascertain if any tradition exists of a fair ever having been held at this place, or if the fell shepherds ever had a meeting place here for the purpose of exchanging wandering sheep: such would be some evidence in favour of this mound having been once a "Law-Ting." The mound seems more or less natural, but improved by art, and the field, in which it is situate is known now as "The Orchard." It may be suggested that terraces are cultivation terraces, but it seems improbable that such would be continued round the cold side of the mound.

HAWKSHEAD HALL.

ART. II.—*Hawkshead Hall.* By H. SWAINSON COWPER, F.S.A.

Read at Hawkshead Hall, September 4th, 1889.

PART I.—HISTORICAL.

OWING to the absence of evidences of Roman occupation in the Hawkshead valley, and its retired position and distance from the Border in subsequent times, we have little or no account of Hawkshead or its hall until a comparatively late period. Although Baines, in his History of Lancashire, mentions the discovery of a portion of a Roman road on the eastern borders of Satterthwaite, pointing towards Ambleside, it is doubtful if there was ever station, fort, or villa, in the valley. In later times the Cumberland and Westmorland hills would form a comparatively sure barrier against the inroads of the Scots, who seldom penetrated as far as Furness.

It is, however, worthy of remark that portions of Roman tiles and bricks have been taken out of the walls of the old Hall, which stands near where Baines' road must have come, if, as he surmises, it was a vicinal way between Ambleside and Low Furness. It is therefore possible, but in the absence of any further evidence, improbable, that a Roman fort or villa stood either on the site of the Hall or somewhere in the valley. On the other hand it is quite possible that the camp at Ambleside, which Camden found, "the dead carcase of an ancient city with great ruins of walls," was for centuries used by all comers as a quarry for building materials, although in the case of Hawkshead Hall, the distance (4 miles) may perhaps be advanced as an objection; the difficulty, however, of quarrying the hard silurian rock may have made it worth while to convey the materials lying ready at Ambleside, especially as it is a flat and easy road between the two places.

So

So much then for Hawkshead in Roman times. I have already said that there is little or no history till a comparatively late period, that is, till after the conquest; but in its name we may read some of that unwritten history which is always to be found in the place names of the most retired and obscure villages.

The word Hawkshead is Saxon, and many are the versions* it has passed through, and many the derivations that have been given for it. The late Mr. Beck, author of *Annales Furnesienses*, in a rough unfinished MS. descriptive of Hawkshead, gives the following:—Hougunshead, Houghshead, Hawkshead. Houghhigh. Head. Hence. Hawkshead. Havockshead or the place where the Hawk's mews were situated.

The first two, I think, may be dismissed, but with the third we are on a better track. It is quite possible that it it was named "the habitation of the Hawk" on account of the numbers of those birds found there, but much more likely is it, that in *Hawk* (Icel. *Hawkr*, Saxon *Hafoc*), we have the actual name of a Saxon or Scandinavian settler, who dwelt here previous to the conquest. In early English times the names of birds and animals were plentifully adapted as personal names, as *Sture* or *Steer*, *Drake*, *Orm* or *worm*, and the well known examples of *Hengist* and *Horsa*.†

Thus Hawkshead, the village and its surroundings, constituted the seat or vill of *Hawkr* or the *Hawk*, while the Hall itself, though this must be received with caution, may have been his actual dwelling. It is rather remarkable, and certainly in favour of this theory, that the "Custom

* *Haukeshede, Haukesheved, Haukeseth, Howkeset, Horeta*. &c., Furness Coucher Book. Also *Haukenshead, Hauxhead, Hoxhead. Hauxide*, "Drunken Barnabee's Journal." Modern local pronunciation *Hhaaksid*. Our member Mr. W. G. Collingwood has called my attention to the English form of the surname, Hacan or Hakon. This may survive in the old spelling of the place name Haukensehead.

† The affix *head, side, set*, &c., are of course the same. There is another *Hawkshead* near Halton. *Swinshead* or *Swinside, Rampshead* or *Rampsheved* now *Rampside*, and *Ormside*. are examples of exactly similarly constructed names. Furness also contains *Hauksuell. Hawkfield*, and a numerous clan of *Hawkriggs*. For an interesting account of early English Totems, see an article on *Old English Clans*, in vol. iv. of the Cornhill Magazine.

of

of High Furness" in the reign of Henry VIII was dated, not at Hawkshead Hall, but at Hawkshall, perhaps the original form still retained from the time when the early lord dwelt there in his hall of dab and wattle, surrounded with a palisade of stout oaken palings. Mr. Beck, however, in a note, advances the theory that a Saxon *Thegn* dwelt upon the church hill, called Gallabar, (on what authority I am unable to ascertain), and it must be confessed that its situation is more that which a Saxon lord would choose for his homestead, than that of the present hall. It can however be demonstrated, I think, that the present building or part of it, can lay claim to a very respectable antiquity, being as early as the 13th century.

In Doomsday book there is no mention of Hawkshead, it being perhaps included in the comprehensive term of *Hougun*. If Hawkr ever lived at Hawkshead, he or his descendants were dispossessed at the Conquest, and as no Norman baron or ecclesiastical body had fixed their abode there, the great survey does not help, and Hawkshead and its environs were not improbably regarded by the Norman usurpers as a sort of *ultima Thule*, or, perhaps, somewhat as we regard a Scotch moor, suitable for a hunting ground, but scarcely fitted for a residential locality. Not until the great Abbey of Furness was in the full vigour of its growth do we gain information about Hawkshead, and then only in a second-hand sort of way, its name not even being mentioned. This occurs in a charter of the time of Henry II. By this time the power of the Abbey was fully established, its possessions extensive, and its influence in this part of the country very great. The small Saxon landowners with their estates were falling or had fallen into its hands, and the very place names in the district were undergoing a change ; the *thwaites*, *bys*, and *tons* becoming *granges* and *cotts*, and later on *parks* and *grounds*.

The original foundation charter of Stephen, Earl of Boulogne, in 1126, had granted :—

all

". . . all Furness and Walney . . . Ulverston . . . Roger Bristolden (whom West ingeniously contorts into Braithwaite), with all that belongs to him . . . fish ponds at Lancaster . . . Little Guoring, with sac, soc, tol, team, infangtheof and everything in Furness except the lands of Michael le Fleming."

The vagueness of this copious grant gave rise to a dispute between the monks of Furness and William de Lancaster, 1st Baron of Kendal; which shows that the boundaries of the adjacent barony of Kendal were not satisfactorily ascertained at that period. The decision materially affected the little town of Hawkshead, inasmuch as its inhabitants, if it then existed, could scarcely up to this time, have been aware to whom they owed suit and service. This dispute was settled by a reference to thirty sworn men, and their decision was afterwards confirmed by the following royal charter.

"Henry, King of England and Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Earl of Anjou, to the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Barons, &c., of all England, &c., greeting. Be it known that I have granted, and by my Charter have confirmed, the agreement which was made before me between the monks of Furness and William the son of Gilbert, about the fells of Furness, which are divided from Kendal by the boundaries sworn to by my command by thirty sworn men: from where the water descends from Wreineshals (Wrynose hill) in Little Langden and from thence to Helterwatra, and from thence by Braiza (Brathay) into Windermere, and thence to Leven, and thence to sea; This territory the Abbot of Furness has divided by the undermentioned divisions; From Helterwatra to Tillesburc (Tilburthwait), and thence to Coniston, and thence to the head of Thurston water, and thence by its banks to Crec, and thence to Leven; But William chose for himself that part which adjoins these boundaries on the west to be held from the Abbey of Furness, wholly and fully, in woods and pastures, in waters and fisheries, and in all things, paying out of it to the Abby of Furness 20s. yearly and the son of the said William should do homage for the said land, to the Abbot: but that part which adjoins the said boundaries on the East the Abbey shall hold, and in that part William shall have the hunting

*See West *Antiq. of Furness*, p. 28. Beck's *Annales Furnescenses*, app., No. iv., and *Coucher Book of Furness Abbey*, ed. by Rev. J. C. Atkinson.

hunting

and hawking; Wherefore I will and positively command that this aggreement be held to, firm and unbroken, and that the said abbey shall have and hold its abovesaid share fully and in peace, in wood and pasture, in waters and fisheries, and in all places and things. Witnesses :—

R. Lincoln,
H. Dunolm, } *bishops*
R. Earl of Legricestre
Richard de Luci
William de Vesci
Godfrey de Valence
William de Agremont
Aubert Gresly
John the Constable
Richard Butler
Henry Fitz Swain
Gospatric Fitz Orm
Richard Fitz Juon

by Stephen the Chaplain at Woodstoc.

(The names of those who made the perambulation of the boundaries between Furness and Kendal according to the above mentioned command of our Lord King, Henry Fitz Swain, Roger his son of Raven Kill, Michael de Furness, Gospatric Fitz Ormo, William Garnet, William parson of Cartmell, Ailward de Broughton, Hugo son of Frostolf, Benedict de Pennington, Gillo Michael de Merton, William Brictwald, William son of Roger de Kyve, Dolphin de Kyrkeby, Swift de Pennington).

By this it appears that the wily Baron, who seems to to have had first choice, selected that part adjoining the Abbot's division line on the west, *i.e.*, the Coniston and Duddon side, to hold from the Abbey by a rent; and he also secured the hunting and hawking of the Hawkshead and Windermere side, which however was to belong to the Abbey—No bad choice. His grand-daughter and heir, together with her husband, Gilbert, son of Roger Fitz Reinfred, in an instrument dated 1196, relinquished their right to the hunting on the abbot's side.* It may be noticed that in neither of these documents is Hawkshead mentioned by name, although it afterwards became the chief manor on the abbot's share.† We may perhaps judge by this that it was then but a place of slight importance, although the

* Buck, doe, and falcon.
† The Abbot's share of course forms the Furness Fells proper of the present day.

fact of the village itself not being upon the boundary line will in a great measure account for its being ignored.

We come now to the earliest mention of Hawkshead in any form : it occurs in the Coucher Book of the Abbey, and has reference to the chapelry of Hawkshead which was originally under Dalton. This was immediately after the commencement of the 13th century, when Honorius, Archdeacon of Richmond, granted permission to the convent to celebrate mass at their private altars with wax candles, during an interdict, for which he assigned the chapelry of Hawkset to the monks. There is a fireplace in the gate house at the hall, decorated with the dog tooth moulding characteristic of 13th century work. This is the earliest architectural feature about the place, and is interesting, as it would seem that the monks on this grant erected or rebuilt their grange or farm at Hawkshead.* This point will be more fully noticed in the descriptive part of this paper.

Still the Abbey went on increasing its possessions, not only as West remarks " by the gifts of almost every succeeding King of England," but also of almost all the barons and landowners great and small, who held lands under or adjoining it ; by these means they gained for their souls supposed salvation, and for their bodies a resting place in the Abbey church itself. The Abbot was lord absolute over the tenants, many of whom were mere villeins, until emancipated by indulgence of the Abbots. The superior grades of tenants were, first, the free homagers,

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* As it seemed to me curious that monks should choose a time for building when the country was lying under a papal interdict, I asked Mr. Lees his opinion and received the following interesting reply :—" As I learn from Du Cange, interdicts varied in severity. The one in K. John's time was not so severe as some others ; but still during its continuance all masses were forbidden except on great festivals. The Cistercians seem to have evaded this rule, for Wilkins (Concilia i. p. 527), gives a bull of Pope Innocent complaining that the Cistercian order, in defiance of the interdict, continued to perform divine service as usual.

The private altars I take to mean the altars in the side chapels at which the choir monks said their masses.

'Tis possible that the suspension of all public offices of religion gave the monks more time to attend to their buildings. This is mere surmise."

feudatories

feudatories of the Abbot and bound to him by their homage and a small rent; the second grade, copyholders who held by copy of court roll, paying a small relief upon admittance, and a rent in lieu of all service except military; the remainder, at first, as I have said, villeins or serfs became eventually the customary tenants.*

Among their possessions in the sequestered district lying at the north of Furness, was the manor of Hawkshead, never held by a baron or lord under the Abbey, but, apparently, till the dissolution, in direct possession of that great house itself. This circumstance will in a great measure account for the lack of history appertaining to the hall and its inhabitants. There was at Hawkshead no great territorial family as at Kirkby or Coniston, whose achievements and pedigree were to be handed down to posterity, and consequently no charters or other evidences to which we can refer for its history. In few documents is it even referred to, but at Hawkshead it was, that the mentioned "*Custom of High Furness*" was dated in 24 Hen. VIII. This document, which is signed by the abbot and six monks, is interesting as giving besides these names the names of many of the tenants of Furness Fells. Another code, drawn up in the 27 Queen Eliz., is useful for the same reason, and bears third in the list of the jury, the name of a member of the family of Nicholsons who were settled at the hall for several generations after the dissolution.

Hawkshead hall is described by Whittaker and others as something between a manor house and a cell. There is, however, as will be seen from the descriptive part of this paper, much more of the former than of the latter in its characteristics. On ordinary occasions it would be occupied by a few monks, and doubtless also by a few lay brethren; at times the abbot himself would visit here and

* See West's *Antiq. of Furness* p. 156.

lodge

lodge the night. On such occasions the lay brethren would be sent scouring the fells far and wide in search of good fare for that dignitary's table. Perhaps they would send to their brother at his lonely cell at Monk Coniston for some of the noted char from the lake.*

In connection with Hawkshead under monastic rule, has often been mentioned, the hill standing on the left about halfway between the hall and the town, and bearing the name of Gallowbarrow. Burn & Nicolson record that there was a hill in the township of Troutbeck called Gallow how, and there was also a Gallowbar belonging to Kendal Castle.† Mr. Beck among his Hawkshead papers his a note on this subject, and he conceives that on it were erected the gallows when the lords had the power of life and death over their tenants: both *How* and *Barrow* signify hill, though it may be questioned how late they were in use: it is possible that the hill may have been used for that purpose at a very early period and both its ancient name and usage may have stuck. I believe it is now occasionally called by the natives Gallows hill.

The reference made by Mr Beck to the church hill as Gallaber, which is evidently closely allied, requires both explanation and authentication as it is almost inconceivable that at any time Hawkshead could produce criminals enough to require two places for capital punishment.

In later times there was a gallows near Poolstang in Coulthouse meadow near the head of the lake, which still bears the name of gibbet moss, and which is the subject of a very gruesome entry in the parish registers in 1672.‡

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* There is said to have been a cell at Monk Coniston, but I do not know upon what authority. Mr. Marshall of Monk Coniston tells me there is an old landing stage at the head of the lake, used by the monks, no doubt for the fishing, and also on the route to the Abbey.

† Annals of Kendal, p. 78. There is Galloperpool near Kirkby? Also Gallow Barrow on Swarthmoor, near Ulverston.

‡ See "Hawkshead Parish Registers," by the Rev. J. Allen. Vol. 4 of Transactions Cumbd: & Westmord. Arch. & Ant. Soc. p. 35.

When

When this was first started as the hanging place I do not know, but a lady residing at Colthouse informs me that she can remember the stump of the gallows still standing.

About 25 years previous to the dissolution, Hawkshead Hall was leased to one Thomas Dowling for three years, and with reference to this Mr. Beck has preserved the following interesting indenture in his Annales Furnesienses.*

"This indentur made the viij daie February in the fourth yere of King Henry viij Bethwixt Alex. thabot off Furness and the convent of the same on that one partie and Thomas Dowlying upone that oder partie Witnesith that the said abbot and convent hath grauntted to the said Thomas the keping of the mansione of Hawkshed Halle with all maner of housold stuf and insight thereto belonging. And also the lath garth and the greyne with the mosse close. And also the said abbot and convent hath sett and lattyne to ffarme to the said Thomas the above said mansione and percel for the terme of iij years next ensuying the date hereof and also Haukeshed milne a close called Penres feld and the half of a close called Sedehaw field with the teth corne of Hawkeshed feld during the same terme. And the said Thomas graunttes to pay yerely at days accustomed to the said abbot and convent for the said milne iiij li during the said terme. And for the foresaid close and half close ix^{s}. Item for the teth corne above said xl^{s}. And moreover vj^{s}. viij^{d}. to be payd at the pleasour of the said abbot and convent. Also the said Thomas graunttes to fiynde the said house of Haukeshed of all maner of Elding during the said terme upon his awyne proper costes and charge. And also the said Thomas graunttes to delyver to the said abbot and convent in thend of the said terme the said manson with all the stuf and housold thereto belonging: and also the clausurs above reherssyd as well and as sufficiently reperelled as he hath receyved them at his entree Except the Reperacions of the Mylne and instrumentes thereto pertenyng. And at all thes articles shal be well and treuly kept John Ricerson bally of Gatside is bounden for the said Thomas in an obligacion of xxl. In witness wherof the above said parties interchaungeably hath sett ther sealles.

Yefyn the day and yer abovesaid."

Mr. Beck remarks that this brings to light a new species of profit to the abbey derived from their extensive woods

* Annales Furnesienses, p. 305.

—that of splitting wood into lathes, which was here carried on in a garth near the hall. Lathe garth is, however, simply Cumbrian for barn yard. The name still remains, and until lately a ruinous barn stood in the field. Green, Penros field or High and Low Penrose, Sedehaw field or High and Low Seddo also preserve their titles. Perhaps the last mentioned is also to be found in the adjacent Shadow wood, commonly supposed to be haunted, and to bear its name from the dark and gloomy gills which intersect it.

The last information I can gain of the hall is in the same year as the crash, 1537; and is contained in the valuations of the Estates in the Commissioners certificate of the abbey revenues.

"The Manor place of Hawkeshead with the demayne lands thereto belonging iiij li xvij^{s} Hawkshead myll iiij li."

And from a rental of the abbot preserved at Westminster

Item Haula de Hawkeshead cum pertinenciis xl^{s}.

In 1537 Roger Pyle, Abbot of Furness, Briand Garnor, Prior, and twenty-eight monks, surrendered the abbey to Henry VIII. From that time till 1662 the liberty and lordship of Furness remained in the Crown, when they were granted to the Duke of Albemarle, from whom they have descended to the present Duke of Buccleuch. After the dissolution the manor house and demesne lands ceased to be in actual possession of the lord, and became the seat and residence of small squires, under whose hands they have slowly but steadily gone to decay. The court barons have been held by the lord, but they have been held in the village and not in the court room at the hall, nor have the boundary beaters started on their expedition from thence armed with flail and cudgel in case of a scrimmage with the tenants of a neighbouring manor*.

* Part of the estate still continues free from the custom of tenant right.

Part II.—GENEALOGICAL.

TWO years after the surrender of the monastery (1539) the hall was held by indenture dat. 12 Nov. 30 Hen. VIII.* by one Kendall, and about twenty-six years later in "A Decree for the Abolishing of Bloomeries in High Furnes," "the hall or mansion house of the mannor of Hawkshead, with appurtenances, now or late in the tenur of Giles Kendal" is mentioned as free from the custom of tenant right.† These two Kendals may have been father and son, and from their name they were probably of local extraction. Nothing more, however, is forthcoming about them, and in 1578 Hawkshead Hall was leased to Edward Fenton for twenty-one years,‡ and four years later (1582) to Rowland Nicholson for 31 years from the expiration of Fenton's lease.§

These Nicholsons, as will be seen, inhabited the hall for about 100 years, and were a family of considerable local importance as their marriages, wills, and inventories will show. Oddly enough they seem to have had no arms, or at any rate not to have used any, as one of the family appears amongst the "disclaimers" at Dugdale's Westmorland Visitation in 1666; he, however, with some others in the same position were the subject of a note by Machell, in which he characterises them as "the ancient gentry of the north," and expresses surprise at their being "disclaimers."‖ It is possible that political bias prevented the family from attending the Visitation or they objected to the fees charged by the heralds. I have not, however,

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* Brit. Mus. Add. MS., 24, 800.
† West's *Antiquities of Furness*. Appendix No. ix.
‡ Beck MS.
§ *Ibid.* I wonder if by any chance the Nicolsons or Nicholsons of Crosby-on-Eden came from Hawkshead. From their common surname Rowland (see Parish Registers of Crosby-on-Eden. These Transactions vol. ix. p. 360) it seems at any rate possible.
‖ Local Heraldic Visitations by R. S. Ferguson, vol. ii. Transactions this Soc. pp. 20, 24.

been

been able to find either in the Herald's College, or amongst their deeds, any coat armour which they used; nor is there among the Cumberland, Westmorland, or Lancashire Visitations any pedigree of the family; I was on the point of giving up searching for any chronicled details of the family when Mr. A. Scott Gatty, York Herald, called my attention to a pedigree of five generations in Dugdale's Visitation of Northumberland and Durham. This turned out to be the family itself, and the reason for their not being entered in Lancashire was that there was a branch then living at Newcastle in a considerable commercial position. This pedigree begins with John, the father of our lessee, Rowland, and gives four Hawkshead, and two Newcastle generations. The Newcastle branch of the family were merchants, and some of them held high civic posts, while the elder branch at Hawkshead seem to have been quiet country gentlemen.

It is improbable that the Nicholsons belonged to Hawkshead before they came to the Hall; it may be seen that the first in the pedigree died at Hawkshead nearly ten years previous to the leasing of the estate to Rowland; there were also three baptisms and one burial previous to this, but they were all probably children and grandchildren of this John. Neither do there seem to be any wills of Hawkshead Nicholsons proved in the Archdeaconry of Richmond previous to 1590. On the whole I am inclined to believe that they came from somewhere in the neighbourhood of Kendal. From the calendar of Richmond wills it would seem that Nicholsons were numerous in that district from early times. Ann, widow of Christopher Nicholson of Crook, and daughter of William Carus of Awsthwaite, who died in 1557 and whose will is published in vol. 26 of the Surtees Society proceedings, makes her father-in-law, John Nicholson, an executor. It is highly probable that this was John Nicholson, the first in our pedigree; Allan Nicholson, the third in our pedigree, seems

seems to have owned property at Dillakar in Westmorland. This is very plainly demonstrated by his inventory. We also find baptismal entries of issue of another Allan in the parish registers, whose connection with the first Allan it is hard to decide, but he was probably either a younger son or nephew, of whose identity with Allan, of Kirklands, in the parish of Kendal, there seems to me very little doubt. It may be also noticed that several of the family married members of well-known Westmorland families residing about Kendal.

The Nicholsons, therefore, probably came to Hawkshead a few years before they settled at the Hall. John died in 1573, and probably never lived in the Hall. His son Rowland the first lessee, in 1590. In 1606 (3 James I.) it was leased to Allan, son of Rowland Nicholson, for thirty-one years, upon determination of the former lease, at a rent of £12 17s. per ann.*† He died in 1616, and we have an interesting memento of him left in the rare little work by Richard Braithwaite, the author of "Drunken Barnaby," entitled "Remains after death," and published in 1618.

Upon the late decease of his much lamented friend and kinsman, Allen Nicholson, a zealous & industrious member both in church and commonweale.

Hauxide laments thy Death, Grasmyre not so,
Wishing Thou hadst been dead ten yeares agoe;
For then her market had not so been done,
But had suruiu'd thy Age in time to come:
And well may Hauxide grieue at thy Departure.
"Since shee recieu'd from thee her ancient charter,
Which Grasmyre sues (since Thou art turn'd to grasse)
To bring about & now hath broght to passe.

* Beck MS.

† Allan m. Susan dau. of Daniel Hechstetter, one of the German Copper mining family at Keswick. See two papers by J. F. Crosthwaite, F.S.A. (1), Crosthwaite Registers, vol ii., and (2) The Colony of German miners at Keswick, vol. vi. of Transactions Cumb. & West. Arch. & Ant. Soc.

This

This much for Thee: nor would I have thee know it,
For thy pure zeale could nere endure a Poet;
Yet for the Loue I bore thee, and that Blood
Which twixt us both by Native course hath flow'd:
" This will I say, and may; for sure I am
" The North nere bred sincerer Purer man.

Drunken Barnaby's knowledge of his family pedigree seems here to have been somewhat at fault; there was probably no blood relationship between him and Allan Nicholson. A niece of the latter, Eleanor, married Braithwait's cousin's son. William Braithwait, of Ambleside. They were probably also connected through the Bindloss's, but the kinship was very slight. Neither is he correct in attributing the obtaining of the charter of Hawkshead Market, if that is what is alluded to, to Nicholson, for it was Adam Sandys who received the patent for that purpose from James I. Mr. Gibson, who published part of the above epitaph in an article on Hawkshead, comments upon this, and suggests that the solution may be found in the word *ancient*, which would not be used if the market charter was referred to. This seems true, and it is possible that something else was in Braithwait's head at the time.

The high terms in which Braithwait speaks of Allan Nicholson is almost the only information we get concerning the family character. Braithwait was an outspoken man, and he evidently regarded Nicholson with a very sincere affection. As the " Remains after death " was published in 1618, it was evidently written soon after his death.

It is worthy of notice how slightly Hawkshead is noticed in " Drunken Barnaby's Journal "; it occurs, I believe, once only.

" Thence to Hauxides marish pasture,"

when he visited it in his capacity of horse dealer; as Richard Braithwait he probably knew Hawkshead well, and

and was there well known and respected, it being close to the Ambleside seat of that family; but as the discreditable Drunken Barnaby he did not care to be associated with a place so near his family home. His true character has been fully discussed elsewhere.

Allan was succeeded by his eldest son Nathaniel, who is said to have been a captain on the Parliamentary side: an entry in the Parish Registers records a tragic event at the Hall in his time.

"1633 Ap. 29 Leonard Oxenhouse who hanged himselfe in Nathaniel Nicholson's stable burd."

one of the many suicides chronicled in the Hawkshead Registers; he would probably be a farm servant at the Hall, and the stable may have been the present stable under the court room.

With Nathaniel we come to a genealogical puzzle. According to Burn & Nicolson* he married the daughter and heiress of Christopher Gilpin of Kentmere Hall in Westmorland, who was the last of his name there. It is, however, proved that Christopher Gilpin married Elizabeth, daughter of Nathaniel Nicholson, as his second wife. Mr. Jackson, F.S.A., who has published a pedigree of the Gilpins,† evidently thought that there were two Nathaniels as he had inserted both matches in his pedigree. As there was but one Nathaniel this of course is absurd, as Christopher Gilpin is said to have had no issue by his first wife, and, consequently, by the above supposition, they would be marrying their own grand-daughters. Chancellor Ferguson, F.S.A., suggests that the solution may be, that Christopher Gilpin had a daughter by his first wife, Magdalen Pen. Nathaniel would then marry his own daugh-

* History of Westmoreland, vol. i. p. 137.
† Memoirs of Dr. Gilpin, Prebendary of Salisbury, ed. by Jackson, published for this Society by C. Thurnam & Sons, Carlisle.

ter's

ter's step-daughter. This, I think, is very unlikely, as, whoever she was, she died thirty years before her father, as the extracts from the Parish Register will show, and was then the mother of a large family. Altogether, I am inclined to think it is a mistake on the part of Nicolson & Burn. Unfortunately, neither the wills of Nicholson, or Gilpin, or their wives, which might have cleared up the difficulty, are forthcoming; at anyrate among those proved at Richmond, where all the other family wills are.

One of the results of this connection between the Gilpins and Nicholsons was a lawsuit about the Kentmere Hall estate, which ran on for some time. Christopher Gilpin, it appears, made two conveyances of the estate to different persons, firstly, by conveyance dat. March 3, 1650 to Nath. Nicholson and (according to the printed copy of the case among the Hall deeds) to defraud Nicholson, made another conveyance, to Mary Philipson, dat. March : the same year, but not executed till seven years later. The Philipsons afterwards claimed the estate, but as they had apparently never paid a penny for it Nicholson kept in possession, he having actually paid £1,520. About 1672 both Mr. Gilpin and he died, and S[r] Christopher Philipson sued his grand-daughters and heirs, and eventually got the estate partly by law and partly by purchase. Through all this the Gilpins seem to have kept on good terms with the Nicholsons, as Christopher Gilpin, his wife, and two other members of the family died at Hawkshead Hall. It was this Nathaniel Nicholson, of Kentmere Hall, as he is styled, who appears as "disclaimer" at the Westmorland Visitation in 1666.* He died soon after November 24, 1671, and as his eldest son Daniel was buried Dec. 1, 1671, at Hawkshead, their deaths must have taken place very close together. Nathaniel's burial is not registered

* Christopher Gilpin of Kentmere was also a "disclaimer" at the same visitation.

at

at Hawkshead, so he was probably residing at Kentmere. Two other families of Nicholson make their appearance in the Parish Register about this time, and I am unable to fix their proper place in the pedigree, but from their christian names they were, doubtless, offshoots. One was of Lawson Park, a dreary farm on the fells between Grizedale and Coniston Lake, and the other of Keenground and Walker Ground. There had been some litigation in the time of Queen Elizabeth between Allan Nicholson and Christopher Sands, concerning Lawson Park,* and this renders it probable that the Nicholsons we now find living there are the same family with those of Hawkshead Hall. One of them, Dorothy, who died here in 1682, may be a daughter of Nathaniel, but there is no proof of this.

Daniel had four children, one son and three daughters, one daughter died young, and doubtless also the son, as nothing more is heard of him. Beatrix, the elder of the two surviving sisters, married successively three husbands, outliving the third. Her sister, Judith Carus, "for valuable consideration" passed her interest and title to the Hawkshead Hall Estate to her sister Beatrice, by whom it came to the issue of her second husband, John Copley.

He was of the Gosforth family of that name, and in his will mentions his brother William, of Gosforth, and his sister Ann, the wife of John Ponsonby of Hale.

The other two Copleys who owned the estate were also Johns. Of the second little is known except that he paid six guineas to the Duke of Montague in 1720 for leave to fell all the oak trees and timber growing on the estate. By this he probably did an incalculable amount of mischief, and to this we may attribute the present lack of timber on the Hawkshead Hall estate.

The last of the name of Copley was an absentee, and lived in Sussex. In 1756 he sold the estate to Samuel

* Cal. of Pleadings, Dutchy of Lancaster, 36 Eliz.

Irton of Westminster, a member of Irton Hall family. Samuel Irton died in 1766. By his wife Harriet he had two sons, first, George, who died and was succeeded by his brother, Edward Lamplugh Irton, who married a daughter of — Hodgson, of Hawkshead. By conveyance dat. 1792, he sold the property to William Fell, of Ulverston, Merchant, who, by his wife Martha had a son, Samuel Irton Fell (bap. 1801, Sep. 26, at Ulverston,) who in 1860 again sold the estate to my grandfather, James Swainson Cowper Essex, in whose family it now remains.

Part III.—DESCRIPTIVE.

IT now only remains to give a description of the building, the descent of which has been traced in the two foregoing parts.

About half a mile to the north of the town of Hawkshead, at the angle where the Coniston and Ambleside roads join, stands, embosomed in trees, all that now remains of the ancient house called Hawkshead Hall. A stream called Hall Beck flows round the west and south sides, whilst on the north, and also on the west beyond the stream it is closed in by higher ground, which is now occupied by a rookery. The other two sides, the east and the south, are bounded by the main roads to Coniston and Ambleside.

Of the whole range of buildings I do not believe that more than half remain. Its plan has been a quadrangle, and, until about twenty years ago, when my grandfather unfortunately destroyed the central buildings, three sides of this quadrangle were still standing; either more buildings or a high wall once completed the fourth side.

If we look at the building now standing we see a gate house, and to the west of this an old, farm-like building with

BEVIS NICHOLSON
bap. Oct. 17 1660, at
H.

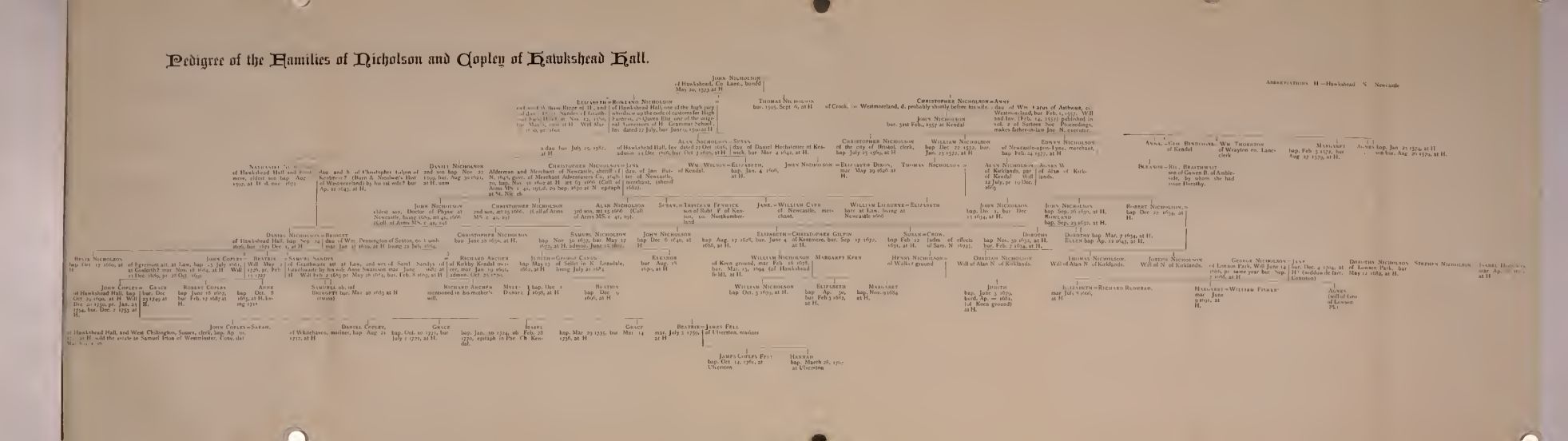
of Egreme
at Gosfort
11 Dec. 16

JOHN COPLEY= G
of Hawkshead Hall, bap.
Oct. 29 1690, at H. Will
Dec. 20 1750, pr. Jan. 23
1754, bur. Dec. 2 1753 at
H.

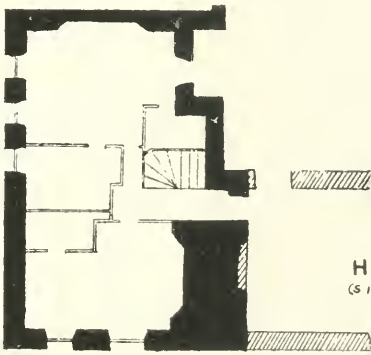
bur.
23 17
H.

of Hawkshead Hall, and West Ch
1720 at H. sold the estate to Samu
March 9. 1756.

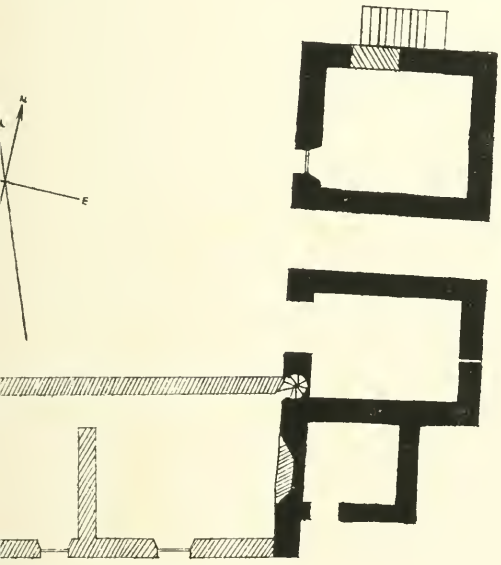
Pedigree of the Families of Nicholson and Copley of Hawkshead Hall.



HAWKSH



HALL



30 40 50 FEET

WALTER L. HEELIS.
SURVEYOR,
AMBLESIDE.

with chimneys, some of which are of the cylindrical (sometimes called the Flemish) shape. The gate house has numerous architectural features, including an early English fireplace, while the latter has no architectural detail, unless we count the chimneys, which may be of any age. From sketches and photographs which exist, showing the central and destroyed portion, we know it to have been of the same character as the farm-like buildings, though some of the windows had oaken mullions, probably of 16th or 17th century date. In spite of this absence of detail there is evidence that this part, or a building that this part replaced, was as old as, and, possibly, older than the court house.

The gate house, or as it is usually called, the court house, is built of rough rubble, many of the stones of which may have come from the bed of the stream; the dressings of the windows, arch, doorway, and niche are of red sandstone, probably from the same quarries which supplied the material for Furness Abbey. The quoins at the angles of the building are of Silurian stone, roughly trimmed. The gateway passage is entered by a drop arch of sandstone ashlar with a plain chamfer; the keystone of the arch is sculptured with foliage, which Beck conjectured to be sprigs of deadly nightshade, in allusion to the connection of the manor with Furness Abbey. Above this is a heavy arch of relief formed of flat Silurian flags; over this is another sculptured stone, considered by the same authority to be a coat of arms, but which is undoubtedly an animal's head—probably that of a lion. Above this again, and straight over the keystone of the arch is a niche, with pinnacles and crockets, which, until about 1834, contained a seated figure of the Virgin. The passage through the gatehouse is not vaulted; the side walls containing the passage are not bonded into the side walls of the building and their masonry seems more modern; the inner portal opening into the court is not ashlar

ashlar, but of similar shape to the outer arch. On either side of the passage is a room, neither of which is vaulted: that on the north side, probably the porter's lodge, has a round-headed doorway with a plain chamfer leading into the court;* that on the south has a splayed loop, which may be ancient, looking towards the road, and is entered by a rough flat-arched door, without ashlar, from the court. Neither of these rooms seems to have had doors from the passage.

The room above the gateway is 40 ft. 10 in. in length, and 21 ft. in breadth, and is entered at the north end by an external flight of stairs and a doorway, beneath which is a broad rough arched doorway entering the room beneath, but now blocked. Mr. Beck in his MS. says:—

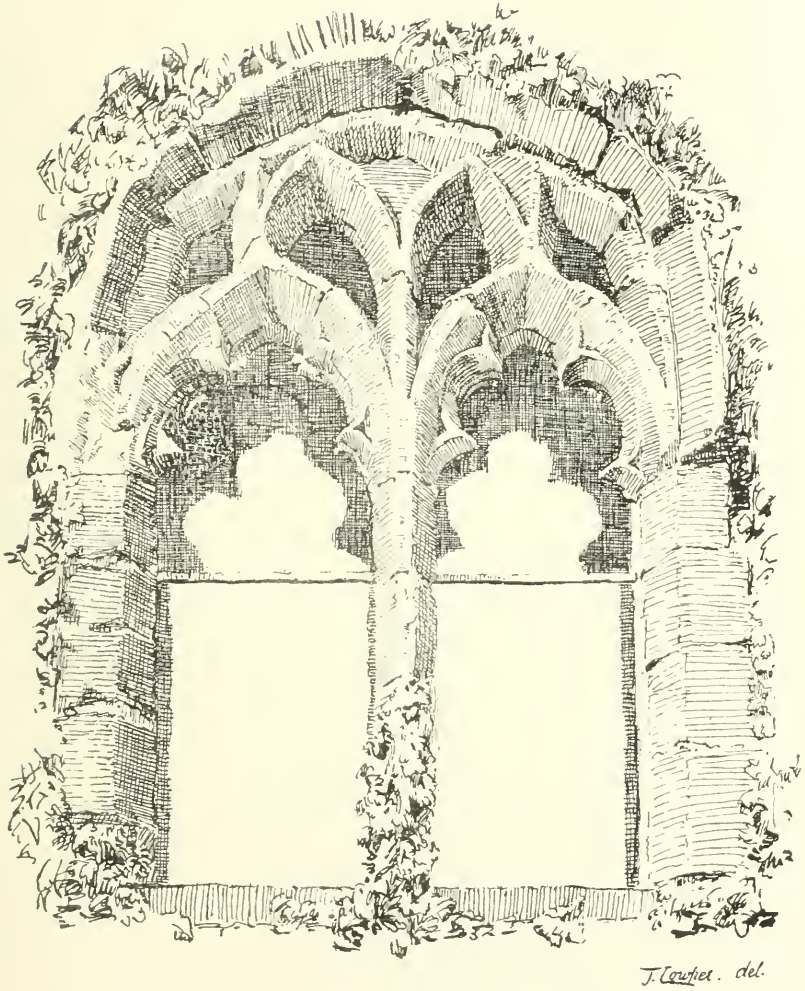
"This room has been entered by a flight of steps from the north end, through an arched doorway, some of the mouldings yet remaining about it, and lighted by five trefoil-headed windows."

The mouldings have now disappeared, and of the five windows, two, those looking into the court, have gone altogether, two more are mutilated, and the large one on the south alone remains perfect. This is a good pointed window without transoms; it has been protected by iron bars, the holes for which remain, and the cinque foils in the head are grooved for glazing; the tracery in the head is of early perpendicular character, uncommon in design, and its date perhaps about 1410.† It possesses the curious feature of not being placed in the centre of its gable but considerably east of it. Two other windows remain on the east side; they have been square-headed, of two trefoil-headed lights each, one is almost entirely destroyed, but the other is perfect, with the exception of the mullion dividing the lights. On the same side nearer

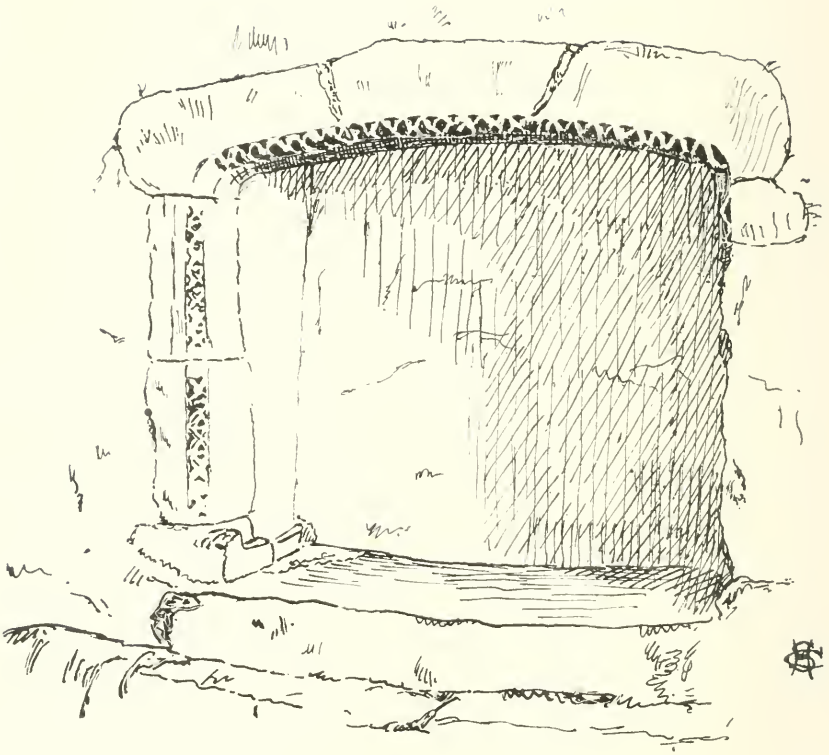
* As a matter of fact this arch is slightly horse shoe shaped; this may possibly arise from settlement.

† This date was assigned to it by Mr. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., from a photograph.

to



WINDOW AT HAWKSHEAD HALL.



FIREPLACE AT HAWKSHEAD HALL.

to the south than the north end, is a red sandstone fireplace with a flat segmental arch, having as its sole ornament the tooth pattern boldly cut in the angle, the teeth being placed very close together. The chimney from this fireplace is destroyed. There seems to have been a dais in the southern part of this room, but it has disappeared, and, in fact, the whole floor is lower than formerly. The open roof is ancient, but not original, and consists only of tie beam, collar beam, and rafters, thus being exactly similar to the roof of the parish church; the southern bay, above where I suppose the dais to have been, seems to have been ceiled at some period, as there are traces of laths. Externally this building has neither buttress, plinth, string, nor offset of any kind; and the gables are now roughly corbie stepped.

I have taken this building first, as, architecturally, it is the most important, and as the contiguous buildings, which were, at least as old, are destroyed. On the whole it seems that this gate house was erected early in the 13th century, perhaps soon after the time when Honorius, Archdeacon of Richmond, granted permission to the convent to celebrate mass at their private altars with wax candles; for which purpose he assigned the chapelry of Hawkshead. Of this 13th century building nothing, except the fireplace, perhaps the round arch and some of the walling, seems to remain: it has been completely overhauled in the beginning of the 15th century, which is the date assigned to the windows, archway, and niche (from a photograph) by Mr. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., to whose kind help I am much indebted.

The buildings destroyed, which consisted of the hall, and probably the chamber, connected the gate house with the kitchen and offices, which are still standing; they, the hall and chamber (and, possibly, the offices themselves,) I have, for a long time, considered to have been older than the gate house for the following reason. At the south

south end of the latter, and beneath the pointed window, is a small lean-to building, in local parlance, a "bull hull," of comparatively modern date, one wall of which being all that remains of the gable wall of the pulled down portion, which here joined the court house, corner to corner, the two gables thus forming a right angled recess. Well in this "bull hull" it will be seen that the wall of the gate house is not bonded into the fragment but built against it, thus causing it to appear like a later building. But if the court house be carefully examined it will be found that very few of the walls have bond, for instance the side walls of the entrance passage, as well as other main walls in the building. This peculiarity seems therefore to be original, and the walls throughout have apparently been run up and built independently of one another in a most curiously rough-and-ready sort of fashion. The want of bond, therefore, at this corner, probably carries no evidence of difference of age with it, especially as the character of masonry in the two walls is similar. The destroyed portion was then possibly of the same age as the court house; yet it was much less interesting, having been adapted to domestic requirements in more modern times, and at the time of its demolition contained no ancient windows, nor, as far as can be ascertained, was anything of the sort discovered during its destruction. In length the destroyed portion was 59 ft. 4 in., in breadth 23ft. 6 in., a perfectly plain building, roughcast, and with square late windows. It was pulled down at two different times: firstly, the part next the gate house, then the remainder up to the kitchen wing, which is left standing. The part first destroyed had two or three windows of small size, with oaken mullions and a chimney in front, as well as a small one in the Eastern gable, which took the smoke from a fireplace under it; this can still be seen in the fragment of wall, and is quite plain with a massive beam for a mantel tree. The other destroyed

HAWKSHEAD HALL.

destroyed part was of greater size, and was, undoubtedly, the hall. It had one window in front, of the same shape, but larger than the others, and when destroyed had no oak mullions, but an ordinary sash. A large fireplace of the same description as the last, may be seen in the wall of the kitchen wing, which warmed this room. This wall is no less than 9 ft. thick, and to the right of the fireplace is a doorway leading to the domestic offices, which consist of two chief rooms on the ground floor, one the kitchen, the great ovens of which are undoubtedly contained in the thick wall before-mentioned, and the other, perhaps the buttery. There are several rooms above, which are now approached by a massive oak staircase, with turned balusters, of Elizabethan or Jacobean date. On the roof, and supported by the thick wall, is a curious shaped clustered chimney stack.*

Now here, it would seem, we have the shell of an ancient house, probably mostly of the 13th century. The unvarying plan of early manor houses was always a large hall in the centre, occupying the whole height of the house, and flanked on one side by the chamber, with the solar above it, and on the other by the kitchen wing. As a rule, however, the chamber and solar were also in a wing, thrown either backwards or forwards, or sometimes both, which does not appear to have been the case here. At the adjacent manor house of Coniston, however, they seem to have been under the same roof-tree as the hall. In the centre was the hall, its length, as near as can now be ascertained, about 34 ft., and its breadth about 19 ft.

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* Such stacks are fairly common in brick, but very rare, in most districts, in stone, and when they do occur, seldom contain more than two flues. The one in question contains four, and another at the north end of this wing, two; which latter might be called a double Flemish. Although such chimneys are rare in most districts, I could cite several instances of the last shape in this locality. Clustered stacks first appeared, I believe, late in the 15th century. For comparison see "The Flemings and their chimneys in Pembrokeshire, by Rev. W. D. B. Allen," vol. 41, Journ. Arch. Assoc.

Beyond

Beyond this, on the east, the chamber and solar, through the first of which would be the approach to the court room, which seems to have been by a newel. At the opposite end of the hall, to the right of the fireplace, is a single door leading to the offices. Here was, doubtless, at one time the screens, but when the ancient method of warming the hall by brazier and louvre was abandoned, the fireplace was put in the end wall, and, of course, the screens would be destroyed at the same time. Here also in the court was the main entrance which does not seem, as was usual, to have had a corresponding door opposite.

The fourth side of the quadrangle is now occupied by a modern wall, but in the north-west corner of the gate-house there are indications of a very high ancient wall of another range of buildings. The total frontage of the whole building is 115 ft.

The actual use of the room over the gateway, commonly known as tne court room, perhaps requires some little discussion. If the hall had extended to the gate-house it would have occupied the position of the solar, but it is too large, in comparison with the rest of the building, for such a purpose, and I am not aware of any instances of the solar being placed over a gateway.

A manor house belonging to an abbey might be expected to contain a chapel, but with the exception that its chief window has no transoms, which is the usual distinction between ecclesiastical and domestic windows, this room does not possess many of the characteristics of a chapel. There is, indeed, at Keenground a sandstone water vessel which came from here, and which may have been a piscina, but, on the other hand, it may have been a water drain in some other part of the house, and as its original position is not known it is useless as evidence. Taking it all in all, it is probable that this room was used, like many others in early times, for various purposes, but from its size its seems likely that the traditional name of court

court room is fairly correct. The external stair on the north perhaps favours this theory, as by it the tenants would assemble to pay suit and service, while the lord, in this case the abbot himself, were he present, with other officials, would enter from the hall or chamber by the newel staircase.

To the W. of the Hall, on the opposite side of the stream, stands the ancient water corn mill of the manor, whither all the tenants were bound to bring their corn to be ground, and to suffer mulcher at the miller's hands. At the beginning of the 17th century there were some curious disputes concerning the rights of other people to erect mills, which were eventually suppressed. It is still a part of the Hall estate, and is now combined with a saw mill.

Lastly, there seems to have been no moat, although the situation is admirably suited for such a contrivance. Perhaps such an arrangement should not be looked for in a building of this semi-ecclesiastical character, but, as has been shown, the house partakes more of the character of an ordinary manor house than anything else. The beck by which it is enclosed upon two sides would form little or no protection, yet in this case defence does not seem to have been considered necessary.

NOTE:—I am much indebted to Mr. W. Alcock Beck of Esthwaite Lodge, for allowing me to search, and make extracts from the papers and MS.S. of the author of "Annales Furnesienses" now in his possession.

APPENDIX OF PROOFS.

Wills and Inventories proved in the Archdeaconry of Richmond, and now in Somerset House.

No.

No. 1.

The Inventory of Rowland Nicholson, 1590 (no will.)

The Invent of all the goods & chattells moveable & unmoveable appertayninge to Rolland Nicolson deceased priced the 27 day of July Ano Dni 1590 by Brian Benson Willm Satterthwayt Thomas Dodgson Ju. & Charles Satterthwt Jurat.

Inprmis cattle yong & old	lvj l xiij s iiij d
Itm horses & mares	xj l
Itm sheepe yong & ould	xj l iiij s viij d
Itm corne	xviij l
Itm malt & meale	v l iij s
Itm wooll	l s
Itm pewter	iij l ñj s
Itm potte candle sticke & chafing dishe	iij l vj s viij d
Itm caldrens & pannes	iiij l vj s
Itm bedding & bedstocke	xl
Itm more in bedding	iij l xij s viij d
Itm in chistes & arke	iiij l xvj s x d
Itm in table clothes & napkins	xiiij s iiij d
Itm in sheetes	viij s
Itm his apparrell	v l x s
Itm in drinking pottes pitchers & jugges	iij s iiij d
Itm woodden geare with an arke	iij l xvj s viij d
Itm in quishones	vj s viij d
Itm one salt & xi silver spoons	iij l xiij s
Itm tables a pressor & 2 contrs	liij s iiij d
Itm a cupbourd	xxxiij s iiij d
Itm fattes & tables	xiij s
Itm iron geare with sithes	iij l xvj s viij d
Itm 2 new milnestones with an oulde one	xl s
Itm plow & plow geare with an iron harow	xxj s
Itm sadles brydles &c.	xvij s
Itm hogges yong & ould	iiij l
Itm carres & coyalls	ij s
Itm in pultry	xxiiij s
Itm a litle table & coffer	ij s vj d
Itm in lead	ix s

GAGES.

At Lonthwayt	xxvj s viij d
Itm in Church close	iij l
Itm a mosse in Breythey	xiij s iiij d

DEBTES OWING TO YE SAID ROLLAND.

The Executors of Mr. Xpofer Sands	xxiiij l
Itm Clement Rigg	xx l
Itm by the country for dyvers journeyes	
Itm Mr. Miles Phillipson for Roll: Phillipson's tableing	xix s viij d
Itm the said Mr. Miles of an ould reckoning for ye sent (?)	v l

Itm

Itm John Sawrey . . . . . xj s vj d
Itm Edward Kilner . . . . . xxxij s
Itm William Rigg of James . . . . xxij d & 18 d
Itm Mr. Anthony Sands . . . . . v l
Suma 172 l 14 s 6 d besyds the debts wch all in a maner prove desparate

DEBTS OWING BY THE SAID ROLLAND.

Of the Cambridg money . . . . . 40 s
Itm to Mr. Jopson & Mr. Dawson . . . xij l ij s ix d
Itm to Mr. Allan Wilson . . . . . v l
Itm to Mabel Sadler . . . . . xj l
Itm to Mr. Magson . . . . . iij l
Itm to Ellin Sattrthwt . . . . iij l vj s viij d
Itm to Agnes Braythwt . . . . . xxiiij s
Itm to Francis Gibson . . . . . xviij s
Itm to Edward Sattrthwt . . . . . xl s
It. to Myles Sawrey . . . . . xxv s
It. to Or Mylner . . . . . xxvj s viij d
It. to Georg Walkr . . . . . xxiiij s iiij d
It. to the Schole . . . . . xxxvij s
It. to Isak Dixon . . . . . ij s vj d
It. to Michael Bowch (Borwick?) . . . . xl s
It. to Samel Listr . . . . . x l
It. to Xpofer Danson . . . . . iij l
Itm to James Burnel . . . . . xxij d
Itm to Richard Dodgson . . . . . vj s viii d
Itm to George Ar Heard . . . . xiij s iiij d
Sma 62. 14s. 3d.

No. 2.

The Will of Elizabeth Nicholson, 1600.

In the Name of God Amen the xviij day of March Anno Dm. 1600 I Elizabeth Nicholsonne de Church Stelle at Hauxheade in ffourneis fells within the Countye of Lancaster wydowe Sicke in my mortall bodie yet nevertheless beinge of wholle mynde and in good and perfect remembrance (I give the Lord thanks) dothe make and ordaine this my present testament conteynnige therein my last will in manor and forme followinge viz: first I give and recommende my soule to the mercifull hands of allmightie God my only savioure and redeemer and my bodie to be buried in my Parishe Churche of Hauxhead All duetyes (?) to be doone to the same as the lawe requyrethe Itm it is my wille that whereas my brother in lawe Clement Rigge oweth mee as may appeare by certaine articles and bills thereof made the summe of xxiij l vj s viij d or thereabouts upon the recovereye whereof and my debts payed I give and bequeathe to my brother Roger Sands the summe of vi l xiij s iiij d of the same summe in consideration that he will take upon him to helpe my Executors to recover the same Itm I bequeathe to Isabell Satterthwaite my mayde xx s And to my man Rowlande x s And to my mayde Agnes Rigge

Rigge x s Itm I make my full and wholle Executor of all my goodes and cattailes moveable and unmoveable quecke or deade whatsoever Peter Magsonne sonne of Mr Peter Magsonne schoolemaister of the same Hauxheade in ffournes fells and countye aforesayde Batchelour my debts bequestes and ffunerall expenses payed and discharged out of the same Itm I make and ordayne my supvisrs Mr Adam Sands Mr Edwyn Sands Mr Willm Sawrey and Roger Sands my brother desyring them for God's sake to see this my laste Will and Testament fullfilled and keepte as my truste is in theme In Witness whereof to this present laste will and Testament I have sett my seale and hand the day and yeare above written in the presence of us viz ffrancis Magsonne Jur. Roberte Burroughe Jur. and Leonard Keene (Proved 1601).

No. 3.

The Inventory of Allan Nicholson, 1616. (No will).

The inventory of the goods and chattell appertayninge to Alan Nicolson deceased priced by iiij sworne men the xxij of October 1616 viz Roger Dodgson George Dodgson John Fisher and Chrystofer Rigge as followeth

First In Jewells iij Rings ij litle Jewells set in gold and halfe a crowne in golde xij sylver sponyes ij sylver bowles valewed . . .	viij l iij iiij d
Itm in Cattell young and old Rated iijxx . .	vj l x s
Itm in horses and mares five	x l x s
Itm in sheepe younge and old viijxx and xviij whereof are iijxx at Dillakar	xxvj l
Itm frome ?	xxxiij l iiij d
Itm corne and hay worth	lij l
Itm hay at Dillakar	iij l vj s viij d
Itm in Bees	xxxv s viij d
Itm loose timber and boards aboute the house .	iiij l
Itm in beddinge and bedstockes in the parlour wth other things	xiij l iiij s
Itm his apparell	ix l x s
Itm more beddinge and bedstocks in another chamber	x l iij s iiij d
Itm in meale and malt	ij l xiij s iiij d
Itm in hay	
. . . . .	j viij
. . . . pewter at viij . .	iiij l
Itm copper ketles and pannes iijxx xiijl at viijd the lb.	ij l viij s viij d
Itm one copper pott and 2 stills . . .	viij s
Itm brasse pannes and kettles xxv l . . .	x s ij d
Itm brasse potts candlesticks & mortars weighinge vjxx xijlb	iij l xi s iij d
Itm for my arkes aboute the houses . . .	vl s
Itm xx horseloades of lyme	xiij s iiij d
Itm one fayre cupbord in the hall iij chayres one figre table	ls
Itm one litle chist ij truncks and iij old chayres .	viij s
Itm sixe stone of flaxe	xlij s

* The gaps in this inventory are occasioned by its being torn where it has been folded.

Itm

Itm one stone of wool . . . . . x s
Itm in the high buttery & old hall In old vessell iij chists one old amery one old arke wth other wares vessells . . . . . xlj s
Itm Bigg and wheate . . . . . xiiij s
Itm one fowlinge peece . . . . . xiij s iiij d

233 12 4

Itm in the mill arks and chists gavelocks picks wh kilne hayre? . . . . . xxvij s iiij d
Itm kilne hayre? new and old. . . . . x s
Itm girdle brand Iron Speets Racks wth other Iron geare . . . . . xiiij s
Itm the plough wth other Iron geare. . . . xxj s
Itm bowes ij . . . . . v s
Itm butter & cheese . . . . . vj s viij d
Itm peats about the house valewed . . . . xx s
Itm sadles sacks wth other horse geare . . . xij s
Itm barrowes sleds and grind stone . . . . v s

GAGES.

Preistfeild p. George Sandes . . . . . l . . .
Barl . . . . Gall . . . . . .
. . . . ij . . . . . xv vij s viij d

DEBTS OWEING BY MR. ALAN NICHOLSON DECEASED.

7 14 — Rents due and payde since his death . . } vij l xiiij s
Itm for Haukes head hall . . . . }
4 10 — Itm for Dillakar . . . . . iiij l x s
— 52 — Itm Due to Mr. Haukrigge in December next . ij l
52 16 2 Itm to John Ward at severall payments . lij lxvj s ij d
5 10 — Itm Due to Mr. Haukrigge for sheepe . . . v l x s
53 6 8 Itm Due to Mr. Haukrigge the 25 of June 1616 liij l vj s viij d
10 10 6 Itm Due to Mr. Daniel Hackstretter wch was lent since his death . . . . } xl xs vj d
— 5 — Itm Thomas Dodgson for money lent by him to Mr. Nicolson at Lancaster . . . } v s
— 5 — George Dodgson for Bees . . . . v s
20 — — Itm oweinge to John Blumer wch he had in his keepinge xx l
10 — — Itm to Thomas Benson . . . . . x l
7 — — Itm to Mr. Daniel Hachstetter . . . . vij l

2 c 22 l 17 s 4 d

DEBTS DUE TO MR. ALAN NICOLSON DECEASED.

Mr. Richard Leake . . . . . xx l
Market money . . . . . xxij l
William Sands . . . . . vij l viij s
George Satterthwayte of Cragge . . iiij l ix s vj d
Mr. Henry Hueson . . . . . iiij l
George Rigge . . . . . v l
John Banke . . . . . iiij l

Leonard

Leonard Keene	. ij l x s vj d
Edward Satterthwayte of Charles . .	. iij l iiij d
George Sands	. . . .
T	. . . .
. . . . ch	. . . .
Roger Borwicke	xxxiij s vj d
Robert of bridge end . . - .	. xx s
Edward Dickson.	. ij l viij s
Blind Michael	. xx s
William Jackson	. xxvij s
John Jackson	. xxvij s
John Haukerigge	. xxviij s
Solomon Benson	. xiiij s
John Benson . . . . ,	. vij l v s
William Rigge of Norey (Sorey ?) . .	. x s viij d
Willm of New house	. x s iiij d
Hugh Studert	. . x s
Willm Gibson	ij l xij s v d
Thomas Troughton	. ix s
Frauncis Troughton	. . x s
John Blumer . , . . .	. xiiij s
Sundrie psons for haye	. iiij l

DEBTS DUE TO THE TESTAYTOR.

Of Roger Dodgson behind for the parke . .	xxx s
George Dodgson	xx s
102 l 18 s 5 d	

(Adm. gr. to "Suzana Nicholson late wiffe" 13 dec. 1616).

No. 4.

The Will of Allan Nicholson of Kirklands Psh of Kendal, 1663.

In the name of God Amen the xij day of July Anno Domini 1663 I Allan Nicholson of Kirklands in the Parish of Kendall and Countie of Westmoreland being att present sore pained with bodily diseases and infirmities yet of perfect minde and memory & praised be God for the same doe make & ordaine ths my present testament and will in manner & forme following that is to say ffirst I commend my soule into the mercifull hands of Almightie God my Maker and Redeemer & my body I committ to the Earth whereof it was made in assured hope of a Joyfull Ressurrection att the last day Itm I give and bequeath my Burgage house wherein I now dwell with all it appurtenance unto Agnes my wife her heires & assignes for ever Itm I give unto Obadiah Thomas & Joseph the three children of Robert Nicholson my sonne every one three shillings fourpence apiece Itm I give & bequeath unto the said Agnes my wife all the reste of my goods and chattells whatsoever giving such part thereof as shall be due unto my children by Lawe And I make & ordaine the said Agnes my wife sole executrix of this my last will

will & testament In witness whereof I have hereunto sett my hande & seale the day and yeare above said

Pmo Allan Nicholson

Recorde hereof are wee
Jur
James Walker
Jur
& William ffisher
(Pr. 19 Dec. 1663.)

November ye ii. 1663.

A true and pfect Inventorie of such goods as weare Allan Nicholsons deceased & prized by us Thomas Warde & James Walker

	l	s	d
Imprimis one table & a buffert forme	0	10	0
Itm 2 chists	0	6	8
Itm 5 buffert stooles	0	4	0
Itm 4 chayres	0	2	4
Itm in wood vessall a knopp & a stand & other things	0	6	8
Itm in brasse & pans & little pans	0	10	0
Itm in puther	0	6	8
Itm for bedstocks & beding	1	0	0
Itm one cow	2	0	0
Itm one arke of hay	0	10	0
Itm speet & warkes girdle & brandreth	0	5	0
*Itm 6 ould whichons (?)	0	1	6
Itm earthen potts	0	1	0
Itm fower parr of sheets	0	5	0
Itm in apparrell woolin & linn	1	0	0
Itm one ould buffert forme	0	1	0
Itm for peats	0	2	0
Itm in meale	0	10	0
Itm one little fouling (piece ?)	0	10	0
Sub ptind the some totall is	8	11	10

DEBTS OWING BY DECEASED.

For hay medow to Alan Prickett	1	1	0
To James Jackson (lent money)	0	10	0
For house rent	0	11	8
Funerall expenses	1	5	0
	3	7	8
Restat de claro	5	4	2

No. 5.

1672 *June* 15 *Admon. gr. to Susan Crow of goods of Samuell Nicholson her late brother. (No will).*

*Query: Quichones, i.e. cushions.

No.

No. 6.

The Will of George Nicholson of Lowson Park, 1686.

In the name of God Amen the ffourteenth day of June 1686 I Gearge Nicholson of Lowson Parke in the Parish of Hawkshead in the County Palatine of Lancr husbandman being infirme of body yet of perfect minde and in very good Rembrance praised be God Doe make and ordaine this my last will and testament in manor ffollowing ffirst I comend my soule to God Almighty trusting through the meritorious passion of Christ to have pardon of all my sins: and my body I committ to earth to be decently buried at the discretion of my executrixes hereafter named: and it is my minde that all dues theerefore due be well paid And as for my temporall estate I dispose of it as follows that is to say I give unto Elisabeth Redheade my daughter one shilling and all the Remainer and Residue of my Goods and Chattells I give unto Jane Nicholson my wife Agnes Nicholson and Margaret Nicholson my daughters equally to be divided among them And I make the said Jane Nicholson Agnes Nicholson and Margaret Nicholson my Executrixes

In witness whereof I the said George Nicholson have hereunto putt my hand and seale the day and year ffirst above written

Signed sealed & declared in the sight and psence of George Nicholson
Myles Sawrey Jur.
Tho. Atkinson Jur.
Will. Sawrey Jur.

(Pr. 1686.)

The Inventorie of all the goods cattells and debts belongeinge to George Nicholson of Lowson Parke in fforneis ffells deceased prized the eighteenth day of September Anno Dom 1686 by Richard Atkinson George Bancke Myles Sawrey and Thomas Atkinson as followeth vizt.

	l	s	d
Imprimis his apparell	00	10	00
Itm wooden vessells	00	10	00
It. Grideron and Brandrethe Ratten croke and other iron geere	00	15	00
It. Peutter and brass	00	10	00
It. Bedclothes & Bedsteads	01	10	00
Item Chestes and arkes	00	10	00
It. Wool	2	00	00
It. Kine Calves Heffers and Steeres . . .	18	00	00
It. One gelding and one mare	02	00	00
It. Sheepe yonge and oulde	20	00	00
It. Haye and corne	05	00	00
It. Poultrie	00	00	08
Item chaires and stooles	00	01	06
Summe in all	51	07	02

DEBTS OWEING BY THE DECEADENT.

Imps to Richard Apleby	10	00	00
It. to Sr James Graham	16	00	00
It. to Thomas Atkinson	05	00	00

It.

It. to John Tomlinson	03 00 00
It. to George Bancke	01 00 00
It. to Richard Dixon	01 00 00
Item his funeral expenses	01 10 00
Summe in all	37 l 10 s 00 d

No. 7.

The Will of Samuel Sandys, 1683.

In the name of God Amen the second day of february in the thirty & sixth year of the raigne of our most gracious Soveraigne Lord King Charles the Second over England etc Anno Domi 1683-4 I Samuell Sandys of Hauxhead Hall in the Pish of Hauxhead and County of Lancaster gent being sicke and weake in body but of pfect memory & remembrance praised be Allmighty God for ye same doe make & ordaine and declare this my last will & testament in manner and forme following (viz) first I bequeath my soule into the hands of Almighty God my maker hopeing that through the merritorious death & passion of Jesus Christ my only Saviour & Redemer to receive free pardon & remission of all my sins And as for my body to be buried in Xtian Buriall at the discretion of my executrix and trustees hereafter nominated And as for such worldly estate as it hath pleased God to bless me with I give devise bequeath & dispose in manner & following Imp I give unto my Honed father Mr. Samuel Sandys ffive pounds to be paid by my Executrix hereafter named within one full yeare next after my decease Itm I give & bequeath unto my Lov. brother Mr. Miles Sandys ffive pounds Itm I give unto my Lov. sister his wife & to my god-daughter Bersheba his second daughter ffive pounds apiece to be paid as aforesaid Itm I give & bequeath unto my Lov. brother William Sandys ffive pounds to be paid within two yeares next after my decease unto my Lov. brother Mr. Miles Sandys and my Cuz. John Philipson to be let out in theire or one of theire names in trust for the use of the said William Sandys untill he attaine the age of twenty one yeares Itm I give & bequeath unto my Cuz. John Philipson & my god-daughter Margaret his younger daughter twenty shillings apiece Itm I give unto my mother in lawe Mrs. Bridgett Nicholson fforty shillings Itm in token of my respect I give and bequeath unto Mr. Thomas Bell minister of Hauxhead tenn shillings to buy a ring with to weare in Remembrance of me Lastly I give bequeath unto my Lov. wife Mrs. Beatrice Sandys all my goods and chattells whatsoever moveable & unmoveable of what nature kind or quallity soever they be together also with all such deeds writeings evidences assignemts conveyances or other assurances whatsoever now in my custody Relating to or any way concerning the demeasne of Kentmere or the Freehold or Customary lands belonging to Hauxhead Hall or elsewhere; whereunto I am any way entitled; whom alsoe I doe nominate & appoint sole executrix of this my last will and testament: she payinge & dischargeing my full debts legacies and ffunerall expenses Requesting & desiring my Lov. brother Mr. Miles Sandys and my cuz. John Philipson to be assisting unto my said Executrix according to theire abillities touching and concerning the pformance of this my last will & testament In witness whereof I have hereunto putt my hand & seale the day & yeare above written

Sam. Sandys

Sam. Sandys

Signed sealed & delivd in psence
of
Ifra. Cray, George Holme, Elizabeth Gilpin, Anne Gilpin.
(Pr. 28 May 1684.)

ffebruary ye 14th Ano Domi (1683)

A true Inventorie of all the goodes chattells cattells debts Rights & credits moveable & immoveable of the Late Samuell Sandys of Hauxhead Hall in the p'ish of Hauxhead & county of Lancaster gentl. deceased approved ye same day by Adam Rigg James Braithwt Edward Braithwt & James Keen

	l	s	d
ut seq.			
Imps His apparrell wth a rapier & belt . . .	07	00	00
Itm money in his purse	02	11	00
Itm in sack	01	00	00
Itm in ye kitchin loft one paire of Bedsteads wth bedding furniture tables six chaires val . .	04	10	00
Itm in ye bed chamber one paire of bedstockes wth bedding & furniture a table and two chaires	02	05	00
Itm goodes in ye closet as pottes glasses val .	01	05	00
Itm a shift & therein eight paire of sheets two table cloths one duzen & a halfe napkins. . .	01	06	08
Itm goodes in ye little loft wth two beds for servts	01	06	08
Itm brass & pewter in the kitchin	03	05	00
It. Potts panns wth a flaske & other Iron implemts in ye kitchin	02	10	00
Itm Wood vessell earthen potts val . . .	01	15	00
Itm Tables formes chiste & arkes	01	15	00
Itm Meale mault groates ffesh val . . .	01	10	00
Itm Hempe & yarne	02	00	00
Itm in ye Barne Bigge & oates thrasht & unthrashed	18	00	00
Itm Hay & strawe in the barne . , . .	04	00	00
Itm Husbandry geare as ploughs carte teames boords old timber val	03	10	00
Itm A bull & eight cows	26	00	00
Itm two yoke of draught oxen	14	00	00
Itm ffower heffers & one steere	10	00	00
Itm three stirkes & six calves	07	00	00
Itm ffower horses	10	00	00
Itm one hundred & ninety sheep	40	00	00
Itm goodes in ye mill as sieves meassures haire cloths wth ye miller's bedd	01	00	00
Itm two hives of bees wth swine poultry and mannure	02	12	06
Suma bonora	171	11	10

DEBTS

DEBTS OWING BY YE PTIE DECEASED.

	l	s	d
ut seq.			
Imps Due to Mr. Samuell Sandys of Graithwt at Candlemas (83)	74	00	00
Itm to Mrs. Judith Carus	30	00	00
Itm to John Philipson at ye same time	53	00	00
Itm to Mr. Pepper of Preston	02	00	00
Itm to John Robinson at ye said time	53	00	00
Itm to Robt. Hubbersty sons at ye same time	30	00	00
Itm to Willm Dennison at ye same time	21	04	00
Itm to Robt. Rawlinson at ye same time	12	00	00
Itm to Richard Appleby ye same time	12	00	00
Itm to Mr. Rymer and Mr. Gray ye same time	04	00	00
Itm to Mrs. Bridgett Nicholson ye same time	22	18	00
Itm to Willm Mackereth ye same time	01	00	00
Itm Servts wages due ye same time	09	10	08
Itm to Mr. Gray	09	10	00
Itm to Mr. Gibson ye same time	04	10	10
Itm to Mr. Mansergh	00	16	00
Itm to Edward Braithwt	01	10	00
Itm ffunerall expenses	17	00	00
Suma debit	329	09	06

No. 8.

Admon. gr. of effects of Richard Archer 27 *Oct.* 1720. *(No will.)*

No. 9.

The will of Beatrice Archer, 1726.

The last will and testament of me Beatrice Archer of Hawkshead Hall in the County Palatine of Lancaster widdow. As to such worldly estate as it hath pleased God to bless me with I will that that the same shall goe and be disposed of as follows (to wit) I give and bequeath unto my son Richard Archer and my daughter Beatrice Archer their exectrs & admtrs all my goods chattells rights credits & personall estate whatsoever And doe make and ordain them executor and executrix of this my last will and testament In witness hereof I have hereto set my hand and seale this second day of May in the twelfth year of the raigne of our Soveraigne Lord George by the grace of God of Great Britain ffraunc & Ireland King defender of the ffaith etc. and in the year of our Lord God one thousand seaven hundred twenty & six

The marke of
Beatrice + Archer.

Signed sealed and published by the above named Beatrice Archer as her last will & testament in the presence of us who have subscribed our names as witnesses hereto in the said testatrixe's psence

Grace Copley
Marget Jenney
John Copley

(Pr. feb. 13, 1727)

No.

No. 10.

The Will of John Copley, 1689.

In the name of God Amen The eleventh day of December in the first yeare of the raigne of our most Gracious Soveraigne Lord & Lady King William & Queen Mary over England Scotland ffrance & Ireland King & Queen defenders of the faith, etc. Anno Domi 1689.

I John Copley of Hawkshead Hall in the pish of Hawkshead in the County of Lancaster gentl. being of good and pfect memory thanks be to Allmighty God: And calling to remembrance the uncertaine estate of this transitory life; and that all flesh must yield unto Death when it shall please God to call: Doe make constitute ordaine and declare this my last will and testamt in manner and forme following; and first being pennitent and sorry from the bottome of my heart for my sins past most humbly desireing forgiveness for the same I give and comitt my soule unto Allmighty God my Saviour and Redeemer In whom and by whom the merrits of Jesus Christ I trust and believe assuredly to be saved and to have full remission and forgiveness of all my sins: And my body to be buried in such place where it shall please my Executrix and Trustees hereafter named to appoint And as for such worldly estate as it hath pleased God to blesse me with: I give devise bequeath and dispose of in manner and forme following Imprimis I give to my brother Mr John Punsonby twenty shillings: Itm I give unto my deare and loveing sister Mrs. Ann Punsonby twenty shillings: Itm I give unto my deare & loveing sister Mrs Barbara Copley Twenty Shillings to buy every one of them a ring to weare in remembrance of me: Itm I doe nominate and appoint my deare and loveing brother Mr William Copley of Gossforth in the County of Cumberld John Philipson of Rayrigg in the County of Westmld gentl. William Sawrey of Dale End in Langdale in the Pish of Grasmere and County of Westmld clerke and William Dennison of Esthwaite water side yeoman: trustees and supvisors of this my last will and testament: and by these pstes doe give them William Copley John Philipson William Sawrey and William Dennison full power and authority to sell mortgage lett to ffarme or otherwise to dispose of for ever any part or parcell of my estate at Hawkshead Hall within the County of Lancaster towards the paying of my debts legacies and ffuneral expenses which I hope my Supvisors with my Executrix will take care to pforme: And I doe desire the Supvisors and require them to give a just and true account unto my Executrix hereafter mencioned after my debts paid And to pay the overplus of all such sums as shall be raised unto my said Executrix: Itm I give unto my deare and loveing brother Mr William Copley ffive pounds and the other Supvisors twenty shillings apiece: Lastly I give and bequeath unto my loveing wife Mrs Beatrix Copley all my goods and chattells whatsoever moveable and immoveable of what nature or kinde soever they be: whom alsoe I doe nominate and appoint sole Executrix of this my last will and testament desireing and requesting my bro. Mr William Copley Mr John Philipson William Sawrey and William Dennison to be assisting unto my said Executrix according to theire abillities touching and concerning the pformance of this my last will and testament In witness whereof I have hereunto sett my hand & seale the day and yeare above written

Sealed published and declared in the psece of Cudbert Hodgson William Rigge Edward Poole & George Walker

(Pr. 28 Oct. 1691)

No.

No. 11.

Abstract of Will of John Copley of Hawkeshead Hall, 1750.

December 20 1750 household stuff to daughters Beatrice & Isabel: rest of personalty to son John Copley clerk, who is appointed sole executor. Realty at Hawkeshead Hall & elsewhere to three trustees on trust for payment of funeral & probate expences & debts: portions of £500 to each daughter & £200 to son Daniel Copley at age of 23, residue to son John Copley, 10s. to each executor (Pr. 23 Jan. 1754)

Extracts from the Hawkshead Register.

1569. July 25, Xtopher Nicholson bapt.
1572. Dec. 22, Willm Nicholson ,,
1572. Feb. 5, Margaret Nicholson ,,
1572. Jany. 23, Wm. Nicholson burd.
1573. May 20, John Nicholson ,,
1574. Jany. 23, Agnes Nicholson bapt.
1577. Feb. 24, Edweine Nicholson ,,
1579. Aug. 26, puer Rowlandi Nicholson burd.
1579. Aug. 27, Margaret Nicholson ,,
1580. Novr. 12, Rowland Nicholson & Elizabeth Rigge marrd.
1582. July 25, filia Rowlandi Nicholson ex secunda uxore burd.
1590. June 9, Rowland Nicholson burd.
1595. Sept. 6, Thomas Nicholson ,,
1597, Aug. 7, Nathaniell Nicholson filis allani bapt.
1599. Nov. 22, Daniell Nicolson alani filius ,,
1601. May 8, Esabeth ux Rowlandi Nicholson burd.
1602. Nov. 30, Christopher Nicolson fil allani bapt.
1606. Jan. 4, Elsapeth Nicolson fil allani ,,
1616. Oct. 7, Allan Nicolson burd.
1621. Aug. 30, Daniell Nicholson burd.
1626. Sept. 24, Daniel Nicolson fil Nathanielis bapt.
1626. May 29, Jo. Nicolson and Esabeth Dixon marrd.
1628. Aug. 17, Elsabeth Nicolson fil Nathaniel bapt.
1630. June 28, Christofer Nicholson fil Nathaniel ,,
1630. Sept. 26, John Nicholson fil allan ,,
1631. Feb. 12, Susan Nicolson fil Nathaniell ,,
1632. Sept. 23, Rowland Nicolson fil allani ,,
1633. Nov. 30, Dorathye Nicholson fil Nathaniel
1634. Feb. 7, Dorothie Nicolson fil Nathaniell in the church burd.
1634. Dec. 1, John Nicolson fil Thomas bapt.
1634. Dec. 22, Robert Nicolson fil allan ,,
1634. March 17, Dorathye Nicolson fil Nathaniell bapt.
1634. Dec. 13, John Nicolson fil Thomas burd.
1637. Nov. 30, Samuell Nicolson fil Nathaniell bapt.
1640. Dec. 6, John Nickolson fil Nathaniell ,,
1642. March 4th, Susan the wife of Allan Nickolson in the quire burd.
1643. Ap. 12, Ellene Nicolson fil Nathaniell bapt.
1643. Ap. 12, uxor Nathaniell Nicolson in the quire burd.

1659.

1659. Jan. 17, Daniell Nicolson & Bridgett Pennington marrd.
1660. Oct. 17, Bevis Nicolson fil Daniell de Hawkshead Hall bapt.
1662. May 13, Judith Nicolson fil Daniell de Hawkshead Hall bapt.
1666. July 8, Richard Redhead & Elizabeth Nicolson marrd.
1670. Aug. 18, Ellinor Nicolson fil Daniell buried in the chancel.
1671. Dec. 1, Mr Daniell Nicolson in the chancell.
1672. May 17, Samuell Nicolson buried in the chancell.
1678. Feb. 16, William Nickolson & Margaret Keene marrd.
1679. June 3, Judith Nickolson fil Henery de Walker Ground bapt.
1679. Oct. 5, Will. Nickolson fil Wm. de Keen Ground ,,
1679. Ap. 27, Stephen Nickolson & Isabell Hodgson marrd.
1681. Ap. — Judeth Nicolson of Keene Ground.
aff. { Jenett Holme / Agnes Keene } burd.
1682. Ap. 30, Elizabeth Nicolson fil William de Keene Ground bapt.
1682. June 5, Samuel Sands & Bridgett Sands } fil Samuel de Hawkshead Hall chris'ned at home.
1682. June — Mr Sam Sands & Beatrice Nicholson.
(The above with another entry is inserted out of place with "Eod. die" before them. This may be June 5th, 15th, or 17th.)
1682. May 12, Dorothy Nicolson de Lawson Pke.
aff. { Susanna Copeland / Elizabeth Redhead } burd.
1682. Feb. 23, Elizabeth Nicolson daughter of Wm. de Keene Ground.
aff. { Eliz. Walker / Hy. Nicolson } burd.
1683. March 28, Bridgett Sands fil Samuel de Haukeshead Hall in Sands quire aff. Rachell Nicolson Ann Gilpin.
1683. Feb. 8, Mr Samuell Sands of Hawkeshead Hall in Sands quire aff. Mary Muncaster Ann Gilpin.
1684. Nov. 18, Mr John Copley & Mrs Beatrice Sands marrd.
1684. Nov. 9, Margaret daughter of Wm. Nicholson of Keenground bapt.
1686. Sep. 7, Geo. Nicolson of Lowson Pke burd.
1691. June 9, William ffisher & Margarett Nicolson marrd.
1694. Mar. 13, William Nicolson of Haukeshead Field burd.
1695. Jan. 19, Mr Archer & Beatrice Copley marrd.
1696. Dec. 9, Beatrice Archer fil Richard de Haukeshead Hall bapt.
1698. Dec. 1, Myles & Daniel } Sons of Richard Archer gentem of Haukeshead Hall bapt.
1704. Dec. 4, Jane Nicoson widdow de farr Coniston burd.

Issue of Beatrix Nicholson by John Copley.

1685. Oct. 8, Ann Copley fil John de Haukeshead Hall bapt.
1687. June 18, Robert Copley fil John de Haukeshead Hall bapt.
1687. Feb. 17, Robert Copley fil John de Haukeshead Hall in the chancell burd.
1690. Oct. 29, John Copley fil John de Haukeshead Hall bapt.

Gilpins.

Gilpins.

1652. Dec. 22, Margarett Gilpin in Sands quire burd.
1672. Sep. 17, Mr Christopher Gilpin in the chancell ,,
1686. Ap. 16, Mary Gilpin of Haukeshead Hall in the church burd.
1688. June 14, Elizabeth Gilpin widdowe de Haukeshead Hall in the church burd.

Brass plate in Kendal Church (now in the Bellingham Chapel).

HERE LIE THE REMAINS OF
ISABELLA COPLEY
LATE OF HAWKSHEAD HALL
WHO DIED THE 28TH DAY
OF FEBRUARY 1770
AGED 46 YEARS.

From Brand's History of Newcastle. Epitaphs now or late in St. Nicholas Church.

CHRISTOPHER NICHOLSON ALDERMAN
DEPARTED 29 SEPTEMBER 1670
IN THE 68 YEAR OF HIS AGE.

THE BURIAL PLACE OF JOHN BUTLER MERCHANT ADVENTURER AND SOMETIME SHERIFF OF THIS TOWNE AND HIS WIVES ANN AND ELIZABETH AND THEIR CHILDREN. HE DEPARTED JAN. 12 1695-6. ANN HIS WIFE 14 JUNE 1655. (He was Sheriff 1652).

William Carr Merchant Adventurer of Newcastle ob. Ap. 14, 1660 his wife Jane Jan. 31, 1666.

The following Newcastle Nicholsons (from the same authority) may be of the same family.

1588. Roger Nicholson Governor of Merchants Company, Sheriff 1583, Mayor 1588.

George Nicholson deputy town clerk ob. 16 Feb. 1604 burd. with his wife Margaret in St. John's Church.

Epitaph.

CORPUS HEUS ANIMUS CONCLUSUM
LIBERA CLARUS
EST FRUITUR SPECTAT CARCERE
PACE DEUM.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX No. II.

The CASE of
John Copley, Gent. and Beatrix his Wife;
And of George Carus, Gent. and Judith his Wife.
Humbly Presented to the LORDS Spiritual and Temporal in PARLIAMENT Assembled.

March 3rd, 1650. That Christopher Gilpin Esq; by his Deed of Feeoffment duely executed with Livery, Dated March 3d, 1650, for the Consideration of 1520l. really paid to, or for the said Gilpin, Conveyed the Demeasne of Kentmer in Westmerland, with Apputenances to Nathan. Nicholson and his Heirs absolutely. But Gilpin having Married Nicholson's Daughter, there might be some Promise that he might be at Liberty to Redeem the Premisses on Repayment of the 1520l. and Interest.

That Gilpin to Defraud the said Nicholson made some conveyance of the Premisses to Mary Phillipson widow, and her Heirs, in Trust, (as is pretended for Hudleston Phillipson her son,) And the said Conveyance is Dated

March 1st, 1650. March 1st, 1650, although not executed till Seven Years after, and there is 1700l. mentioned as the Consideration thereof, when in Truth there was not One Penny paid for the same. And the said Hudleston Phillipson was then so far from Claiming anything to himself under that

Janu. 22d. 1655. Deed, that Five Years afterwards, (viz.) Jan. 22nd, 1655, he (with three other Arbitrators,) by an Award then made, did Award that there was due to Nicholson 1050l. but that he should there-out allow Gilpin 400l. for the Portion of his Wife, he making her a Jointure of 30l. per annum out of the Premisses. And Gilpin was also there-out to secure to Nicholson the 650l. Residue of the 1050l. And thereupon Possession was to be delivered to Gilpin by the said Award.

That in 1657 the Phillipsons set up a Title, and brings an Ejectment under the said Deed, and upon Tryal at

August, 1657. Appleby, in August, 1657, were Non-Suited. However they bring another Ejectment the next Year, and thereupon there was a Reference to Arbitrators, who taking Notice of the said former Award, and that there was 100l.

Decem. 25, 1658. more become due to Nicholson, it is Awarded December the 25, 1658, that Mary Phillipson should pay to Nichol-

Janu. 21st. son the 21st of January then next 750l. or give sufficient Security

Security for the same, with Interest, and should also give Security for payment of 400l. to Gilpin, with Interest, in a Year. And also that she should settle a Jointure of 30l. per Annum on Elizabeth the Wife of Gilpin, and that she should give Security to Nicholson to Idempnifie him against Five several Bonds therein mentioned, or else procure the same to be Cancelled.

That there never was any Money paid, or Security given, or anything done in performance or Execution of the said Award, but Nicholson kept Possession of the
1662. Premisses. And in 1662 Exhibited his Bill in Chancery against the Phillipsons, and Gilpin to discover the said Fraudulent Deed, and for Relief in the Premisses. And Hudelston Phillipson Dying, the Bill was revived against Christopher Phillipson on his Eldest Son and Heir (now Sir Christopher the Appellant,) And neither the Phillipsons, nor Gilpin, did by their Answer to that Bill set forth One Penny really paid as the Consideration of their
Novem. 24, Deed. And November the 24th, 1671, the Cause was
1671. regularly brought to Hearing against the now Appellant, (who was then 25 Years Old, tho by his Petition he suggests he was under Age,) and upon the Hearing the Court declared themselves satisfied, that the said Deed
March 3d, of the 3d of March, 1650, was a good Deed, and ought
1650. not to be Impeached, being made for Valuable Considerations. And did therefore Order and Decree, That Nicholson should be pay'd 1520l. with his Damages and Costs, or else hold the Estate Absolute. And an Account was directed to be taken to see what was due to Nicholson, but the Defendants not appearing to hear Judgement, they had a Day to show cause against the said Decree.

That shortly after Nicholson Dyed, leaving the Respondents Beatrix and Judith his Grand-children, and Coheirs, tender Infants. And they being afterwards Married to Mr. Copley, and Mr. Carus. In Michaelmas Term
1683. 1683, Sir Christopher Phillipson Exhibited his Bill in Chancery against them, to have an Account of the Profits of the Premisses, and that he might be let in on Payment of what should appear due to the Respondents. And they thereupon Exhibited their Bill of Revivour to Revive the said Decree and Proceedings. And upon

June

June 11th, 1686. hearing both the said Causes June the 11th, 1686. It was Ordered and decreed, that Sir Christopher Phillipson should pay to the Respondents the 1520l. Decreed Nicholson with Interest and Costs to be Computed and Taxed by a Master who was directed to take an Account of the Profits, and what the Master should certifie due, Sir Christopher Phillipson was Decreed to pay, and thereupon the Respondents were to reconvey, but in default of payment, Sir Christopher's Bill was to stand desmist, with Costs.

That Sir Christopher Phillipson not resting satisfied with the said Decree, Petitioned the Late Lord Chancellour Jeffreys for a Rehearing, which being granted, and the Causes coming accordingly to be Reheard before Novemb. 11, 1686. his Lordship on the 11th of November, 1686, It was Ordered. that the said former Order on Hearing, or Decree, do stand.

That the said Sir Christopher Phillipson greatly delayed the Account before the Master, by taking out several Commissions into Westmerland to Examine to the Value of the Premisses, or otherwise. And finding there would be much more found due upon the said Estate than the same is worth. to be sold out-right, the Premisses being but 50l. or 60l. per Annum Value And there is a Free Rent of 10l. per Annum Issuing thereout. which with other usual Reprizes amount to 15l. per Annum. And there was a Doweress upon the Estate April 1672. till April 1672. And the Master being ready to make his Report, Sir Christopher Phillipson Exhibits his Appeal to your Lordships to execute the said Award made above Thirty Years since, and whereof there has been never any performance but the contrary. And the said Gilpin and his wife who were to have benefit by the said Award, were not made parties to the said Sir Christopher Phillipson's Suit. and are since Dead; and now that Nicholson is also Dead. it cannot appear what he paid upon, or was damnified by the said Five Bonds against which he was to be saved harmless by the said Award.

NOTE.—Since completing the above account I have received an interesting letter on the subject from Mr. J. Holme Nicholson, of Carill Drive, Fallowfield, Manchester, containing the following additional information:—Firstly, Nathaniel Nicholson was one of those gentlemen of the Lonsdale Hundred who compounded for Knighthood at Lancaster on the 23rd March, 1631-2, by payment of a fine of £10

£10. (Record Soc. vol. 12). Secondly, with regard to family arms, it appears that Roger Nicholson, Sheriff of Newcastle, 1583, bore Arg. on a pale sa. three martlets or. [Carr MS. (Surtees Socy. vol. 1, pr. 1862, appendix lxix.)]. It does not appear, however, that any other Newcastle Nicholsons bore these or any other arms, and as Roger is not found in Dugdale's pedigree, or in any way connected either with the Hawkshead or Newcastle families, it is very questionable if he was any relation; Mr. J. Holme Nicholson calls my attention to the fact that the arms are identical, except as to tincture, with those of Nicholson of Balrath, Co. Meath, who were supposed to have sprung from the Nicholsons of Poulton Hall, near Lancaster. Not improbably Roger was a member of this family.

ART. III.—*S. Catherine's Chapel, Eskdale: a reason for its Dedication.* By REV. THOMAS LEES, M.A., F.S.A.

Communicated in Eskdale, September 5th, 1889.

THE chapelry of Eskdale is a portion of the enormous parish of S. Bees. The chapel itself is dedicated to Catherine, V.M.: and Jefferson ("Allerdale above Derwent" p. 422), tells us that "a fair is holden here, on the north side of the chapel-yard, on the 5th of December, O.S." (*i.e.* November 25th of our present way of reckoning), "being the Feast of St. Catherine, virgin and martyr, to whom the chapel is dedicated.

The name of S. Catherine does not appear in the oldest English Calendars, but we find it in the Roman, French, Spanish, German, Greek, Scottish, and Sarum English use. None of our most ancient English churches are dedicated to her. In fact her legend is not earlier than the 8th century, and was not introduced into western Christendom till after the Crusades in the 11th century. Her *cultus* then became rapidly popular, and we have some 50 churches in England bearing her name, and a vast number of chantry chapels and altars. Now in choosing a patron for his new chapel here, the founder may have been influenced by what was, at that time, a popular fashion; but the object of this paper is to show that he was probably moved by a deeper and more solemn motive than this.

S. Catherine's Day, A.D. 1120, was marked by a dreadful calamity which befel the royal family of England, and many noble houses of England and Normandy. This was the wreck of the "White Ship," in which perished Prince William the Etheling, son of Henry I, and many of his courtiers. Ordericus Vitalis describes the catastrophe in such

such a feeling and vigorous style, that I trust you will pardon me for a somewhat lengthy quotation as rendered in English by his translator, Mr. Forrester. (Bohn's Antiquarian Library, Ordericus Vitalis, Vol. IV).

After telling us of the embarkation of Henry I, at Barfleur, on November 25th, Ordericus continues :—

"In this voyage a sad disaster happened which caused much lamentation and innumerable tears to flow. Thomas, the son of Stephen, had obtained an audience of the king, and offering him a gold mark, said to him, "Stephen, the son of Airard, was my father, and during his whole life he was in your father's service as a mariner. He it was who conveyed your father to England in his own ship, when he crossed the sea to make war on Harold.

He was employed by your father in services of this description as long as he lived, and gave him such satisfaction that he honoured him with liberal rewards, so that he lived in great credit and prosperity among those of his own class. My lord king, I ask you to employ me in the same service, having a vessel, called the Blanche-Nef, which is fitted out in the best manner, and perfectly adapted to receive a royal retinue." The king replied :—"I grant your request; but I have already selected a ship which suits me, and I shall not change; however, I entrust to you my sons, William and Richard, whom I love as myself, with many of the nobility of my realm.'

The mariners were in great glee at hearing this, and greeting the king's son with fair words, asked him to give them something to drink. The prince gave orders that they should have three muids. No sooner was the wine delivered to them than they had a great drinking bout, and pledging their comrades in full cups, indulged too much and became intoxicated. By the king's command many barons with their sons embarked in the Blanche-Nef, and there were in all, as far as I can learn, three hundred souls on board the ill-fated ship, but two monks of Tyron, Count Stephen, with two men-at-arms, William de Roumare, Rabel the chamberlain, Edward of Salisbury, and several others came on shore, having left the vessel upon observing that it was overcrowded with riotous and headstrong youths. The crew consisted of fifty experienced rowers, besides an armed marine force, who were very disorderly, and as soon as they got on board insolently took possession of the benches of the rowers, and being drunk forgot their station, and scarcely paid respect to any one. Alas! How many among the company embarked, were without the slightest feeling of devotion towards God.

Qui

Qui maris immodicas moderatur, et aeris, iras!
Who rules the storm, and calms the raging sea.

They even drove away with contempt, amidst shouts of laughter, the priests who came to bless them, with the other ministers who carried the holy water; but they were speedily punished for their mockery. Besides the king's treasure and some casks of wine, there was no cargo in Thomas's ship, which was full of passengers; and they urged him to use his utmost endeavours to overtake the royal fleet which was already ploughing the waves. In his drunken folly, Thomas, confident in his seamanship and the skill of his crew, rashly boasted that he would soon leave behind all the ships that had started before them. At last, he gave the signal for departure; the sailors seized the oars without a moment's delay, and, unconscious of the fate which was iminently impending, joyously handled the ropes and sails, and made the ship rush through the water at a great rate. But as the drunken rowers exerted themselves to the utmost in pulling the oars, and the luckless pilot steered at random and got the ship out of its due course, the starboard bow of the Blanche-Nef struck violently on a huge rock, which is left dry every day when the tide is out, and covered by the waves at high water. Two planks having been shattered by the crash, the ship, alas! filled and went down. At this fearful moment, the passengers and crew raised cries of distress, but their mouths were soon stopped by the swelling waves, and all perished together, except two who seized hold of the yard from which the sail was set; they hung on to it the greater part of the night, in earnest hope that they would receive aid in some shape or other. One of these men was a butcher of Rouen, of the name of Berold; the other, a young man of gentle birth whose name was Geoffrey, the son of Gilbert de l' Aigle."

Wearied with this quotation you will naturally ask "what has all this to do with Eskdale and its little church?" This I hope to show you. After a heart-rending account of the circumstances of the wreck, Ordericus gives a list of the chief victims :—

"As we have already said, the king's sons William and Richard were amongst those who perished, with their sister Matilda, wife of Rotrou, count of Mortain. There were also Richard the young Earl of Chester, distinguished by his bravery and kindness of heart, with his wife Matilda, sister of Theobald, count Palatine. Othere, his brother, son of Hugh, Earl of Chester, and governor and tutor of the king's youngest son at the moment when the Blanche-Nef went down and the nobles were hopelessly buried in the waves, took, as it is reported

ported, the young prince in his arms, and sinking with him they were never seen again."

The rest of the list has no connection with our subject. The bodies of Earl Richard and several others were found some days after the shipwreck far from the spot where the vessel was lost. Finally Ordericus tells us

"Ranulph of Bayeux obtained the Earldom of Chester, with all the patrimony of Earl Richard, being the next heir as nephew of Matilda, Earl Hugh's sister."

It appears then that this Richard, Earl of Chester, and his brother Othere were cousins to Ranulph Meschines, 1st Earl of Carlisle; and at their death, he succeeded to the Earldom of Chester. Finding the Earldom of Carlisle to which Henry I had promoted him, too unwieldy and troublesome to manage alone, he had divided it into Baronies, one of which, that of Copeland (since called Egremont), of which the manor of Eskdale is a parcel, he retained in his own hands. He founded as we know the Benedictine Cell of Wetheral, and the abbey of Calder. Like his master Henry I, Ranulph found the need of the restraining influences of religion over his wayward, independent, Cumbrian vassals; and therefore provided for their instruction and spiritual needs such means as seemed best. One of these I take to have been the founding of this chapel in his manor of Eskdale; and it seems but in accordance with the feeling of the age that he should dedicate it to S. Catherine in pious memory of those two kinsmen who had perished on her day; and by whose decease he was enabled to exchange the barren wastes and mountains of Cumberland, for the fertile and wealthier lands of Chester.

This is but a supposition on my part; it is for you to judge if it be a reasonable one. May it not be that many of the numerous dedications to this Saint of churches, chantries, and altars, owe their foundation to those who desired thus to remember those dear ones who perished in the Blanche-Nef?

ART.

ART. IV.—*Appleby Old Bridge.* By the REV. CANON MATHEWS.

Read at Penrith, July 4th, 1889.

THE removal of an ancient and well-known landmark in the north of Westmorland can hardly be passed over without some notice from this society, though it is to be regretted that few materials exist for any detailed history of it. Nothing is known, so far as I can trace, of its building, or the sources of its support, for several centuries; save that many pious bequests can be traced in the Bishop's Registry of Wills given towards its maintenance, and I must therefore offer only such meagre details as I have been able to obtain as to its history. The structure itself was of exceedingly simple design and workmanship. Where it spanned the river, immediately above an ancient ford that appears to have crossed it at an angle, since much washed away by the scour from under the bridge itself, a scar of hard boulder clay abuts on the water at the west side, of about eight feet in height originally, from which and on which the western arch sprang. The same bed dipping sharply under the river was taken as the foundation of the central pier, large beams of oak being laid transversely upon this to form the basis of the masonry. These oak beams were taken up in excellent preservation, and nearly as black as bog oak. On the eastern side the hard scar had dipped completely down, and the same transverse beams of oak had been laid upon the sand and gravel that formed the beach stretching along the river side, part of which is still known as "The Sands." On these beams, and on the hard scar on the western side, the bridge was built of the simplest and rudest construction. A mass of large boulders and soft sandstone blocks from the

the neighbouring scar formed the foundation and abutments, with mortar, seemingly of hot lime, run in, that had hardened to a tenacity greater than the stones themselves in many instances; and undoubtedly to the excellence of the mortar the bridge owed its stability for so many years. The scour of the water had rather undermined the foundation of the central pier and caused a large crack, which made the bridge unsafe. The arches, of the simple circular shape of Norman bridges, were of very simple construction. Ribs of soft sandstone, not seemingly worked to any radius, spanned the arch, on which were laid similar but larger and very rough stones, overlapping the ribs originally by some three or four inches. But by the wash of the water during repeated floods the ribs had been forced outwards down the stream, so that at the crown of each they were fully that much out of truth, and the over-lying stones simply rested on the bare edge, the marvel being that they had stood so long. Owing to this pressure, the northern or lower parapet and outer casing had fallen in about 40 years ago, and had been rebuilt and widened, the new work being excellent masonry, but on exceedingly bad foundations.

As to the history of the bridge there are few records and not many reliable indications in itself. The architecture would lead us to assign it to the 12th century, and is exactly similar to that of the bridge at Kirkby Lonsdale. I am strongly of opinion that both were built by the Abbey of St. Mary, at York, which owned the rectorial property of both parishes; and, in the case of Appleby, appear to have owned the land adjoining the bridge. In the lower part of the centre pier three carved stones were found, fragments apparently of monumental tablets with floriated cross, but much broken. It is not unreasonable to think that they may have been taken from the neighbouring church of St. Lawrence, which had been sacked by the Scotch in the raid in 1174 under William

liam the Lion. It is shortly after that date that we find the first historical notice of the bridge, when Richard I. ordered the sheriff of Westmorland to repair it. It is said that a bottle, of antiquated shape, sealed up, and with something white like paper or parchment in it, was discovered in the foundations and thrown up to the contractor, who missed it, and falling to the bottom of the river it was never found again. On the west end of the bridge it is known that an ancient chantry was situated, with an oratory or chapel over the archway by which the bridge was approached. This fact probably accounts for the source of the revenues from which the bridge was in early days repaired—namely the voluntary offerings of pious travellers, supplemented by the bequests to which I have alluded. Not much is known about this chapel. We have the following :

(1445). "23, Hen. VI.—Robert Warcop, mayor, and the burgesses of Appleby, granted to John Marshall a certain ruinated* chapel on the west end of the stone bridge of St. Lawrence in Appleby, to hold this said chapel to him and his successors, repairing the said chapel at his own expense, with license to repair also a certain chamber or oratory over the said chapel; to pay a yearly rent of 2d. to the mayor and burgesses if demanded. 'This seems to be the very same which is now the old gaol, having to this day much more the appearance of a monkish cell than a prison. The revenues, thereof, perhaps did arise from the charity of passengers." *Nicolson & Burn Vol. I, p.* 328.

There appears to have been no endowment attached to this chantry, as it is not named among the others suppressed by Edward VI, though in that list there are some mentioned as situated upon bridges and endowed—as "the chantry upon the bridge of Great Totneys in the county of Devon," and the "chappel and scite of the chappel of

*Probably "ruinated" in the sack of the town by the Scotch in 1388. It may be noted that the bridge at Kirkby Lonsdale had a chapel standing near the the western approach, though not on the bridge itself.

the

the Assumption of the B. V. Mary upon the bridge of the town of Bristol." It is never mentioned in connection with other chantries in the churches of Appleby, which were endowed. No trace of the building or even of the foundations of this chantry or oratory could be seen. In the century following the suppression of the chantries it was used as a gaol for county prisoners, who had hitherto been kept in the Castle keep.

To this date must be assigned probably an old lintel of which three fragments were discovered when the old house occupying its site was pulled down, on which the following part of an inscription could be clearly pieced together—

| TO PORTA PATEN | S NULLI.

a lower line having been cut through so that the letters were not decipherable. But I could make out the lower half of the date 1646. Mr. Bintley, through the *Builder*, elicited an interesting letter which made the remainder of the legend to run

CLAUDARIS HONESTO,

but even with this key the remaining letters were too fragmentary to be made out. In the following century the gaol was moved to the other side of the water, and the old buildings having been converted into a dwelling-house, all traces of the gaol and chapel were destroyed.

Note by the Editor.—Appleby Bridge was repaired in the year 1847, when a stone with a Roman sepulchral inscription was taken out of the parapet. *Hill. MS. Coll. vol.* 5. This stone was seen by Horsley and is engraved in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale* No. 748, and is there stated to be in the possession of (the late) John Bell, Esq. of Appleby.

EXCURSIONS AND PROCEEDINGS.

THURSDAY AND FRIDAY, JULY 4th and 5th, 1889.

THIS Society visited Penrith on Thursday and Friday, July 4th and 5th, 1889, when the first meeting of the year was held, and visits were made to several places in the neighbourhood. The committee for making the local arrangements were the worshipful Chancellor Ferguson, F.S.A., President of the Society; Major Arnison; M. W. Taylor, M.D., F.S.A.; Rev. Thomas Lees, F.S.A., and Rev. H. Whitehead. These gentlemen arranged an excellent programme, which made the Crown Hotel the head quarters, and comprised visits on the first day to the Roman station at Plumpton, Catterlen Hall, and Newton Reigny Church, and on the second day to Blencow Hall, Johnby Hall, Greenthwaite Hall, Greystoke Church, Hutton John, and Dacre Church and Castle. The visit to Hutton John was postponed in consequence of the melancholy death in India of Mr. Hudleston's son, but the rest of the programme was carried out.

On Thursday afternoon the members and their friends drove to Plumpton, which was reached about three o'clock, and proceeded to the exploration of the Roman station—Voreda. The PRESIDENT, in a short address, described the camp and its history. He attributed its formation to the period of Agricola's invasion in 79, A.D., and explained that it stood upon the great Roman thoroughfare from York to Carlisle. The whole place, he said, would well repay systematic and extensive excavation. Sir Walter Scott had made it a practice never to pass in the posting days without stopping at it and meditating upon it: on one occasion Sir Walter bought five altars found here, upon which were figures of Jupiter, Apollo, Mars, Mercury, and Venus, and had taken them to Abbotsford, where they now are. Other sculptured stones had been taken from the station in large numbers by Sir Robert Cotton; but that celebrated antiquary had had the misfortune to lose the whole while having them removed by sea. A pleasant half-hour having been spent in examing the camp, the party adjourned to Romanway, the residence of Mr. Joseph Simpson, and partook of afternoon tea, which Mrs. Simpson kindly served to her numerous guests. A number of objects of antiquity displayed in the grounds and in the library of the mansion were examined with interest

interest. From Mr. Simpson's residence the party proceeded to Catterlen Hall—one of the numerous Cumberland manorial halls which have been deserted by the aristocratic families by whom they were built, and have become farm houses. Catterlen Hall is now in the occupation of Mr. Lancaster, who farms the surrounding land. Dr. Taylor gave a description of the building and conducted the party through its various apartments. The peel tower, he said, was of the fourteenth century; there was an addition in the year 1577 by Roland de Vaux; and in 1657 another addition was made by Christopher Richmond, who married Mabel, heiress to the last Vaux of Catterlen—A paper by Dr. Taylor on Catterlen Hall, is printed in the first volume of the Society's Transactions.

Newton Reigny Church was next visited, the rector the Rev. H. Whitehead acting as guide. Mr. Whitehead read the paper upon the church by the Rev. T. W. Norwood, which is published in the tenth volume of the *Transactions* of the society. He also exhibited the register dating from 1571, and the communion cup bearing the date of 1568; and spoke of one of the bells in the tower which had upon it the inscription *Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis*, in small black-lettered type, and had been cast somewhere between 1420 and 1538. The font in the church and many curious gravestones in the churchyard were also described at length by the genial rector. It was six o'clock when the party, having re-entered their carriages, turned their backs upon the church and its surroundings, and half-an-hour later they reached their headquarters at Penrith. At seven o'clock the members and their friends dined together at the Crown, the president being in the chair. After dinner the Annual Meeting took place, when the following Officers were elected:—

Patrons:—The Right Hon. The Lord Muncaster, M.P., Lord Lieutenant of Cumberland; The Right Hon. The Lord Hothfield, Lord Lieutenant of Westmorland; The Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of Carlisle.

President and Editor:—The Worshipful Chancellor Ferguson, M.A., LL.M., F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents:—James Atkinson Esq., E. B. W. Balme, Esq., The Bishop of Barrow-in-Furness: The Earl of Bective, M.P., W. Browne, Esq., James Cropper, Esq., The Dean of Carlisle, H. F. Curwen, Esq., Robert Ferguson Esq., F.S.A., The Earl of Carlisle, W. Jackson, Esq., F.S.A., G. J. Johnson, Esq., Hon. W. Lowther, M.P., H. P. Senhouse, Esq., M. W. Taylor, Esq., M.D., F.S.A.

Elected Members of Council:—W. B. Arnison, Esq., Penrith; Rev. R. Bower, Carlisle; Rev. W. S. Calverley, F.S.A., Aspatria; J.

J. F. Crosthwaite, Esq., F.S.A., Keswick; H. Swainson Cowper, Esq., F.S.A., Hawkshead; C. J. Ferguson, Esq., F.S.A., Carlisle; T. F. I'Anson, Esq., M.D., Whitehaven; Rev. Thomas Lees, F.S.A Wreay; Rev. Canon Mathews, Appleby; Alfred Peile, Esq., Workington; Rev. Hy. Whitehead, Newton Reigny; Robert J. Whitwell, Esq., Kendal.

AUDITORS:—James G. Gandy, Esq., Heaves; Frank Wilson, Esq., Kendal.

TREASURER:—W. H. Wakefield, Esq., Sedgwick.

SECRETARY:—Mr. T. Wilson, Aynam Lodge, Kendal.

The following new members were elected:—Miss Wilson, The Rowans, Ambleside; the Rev. T. T. Smith, Wellbeck Road, Birkdale, Southport; Mr. J. W. Lowther, M.P.; Mr. C. J. Parker, The Laithes, Penrith; the Rev. J. S. Ostle, Skelton Rectory; the Rev. M. S. Donald, Barton, Penrith; Mr. R. B. Neville, Penrith; Mr. John Monkhouse, Hawthorn Villa, Kendal; Mr. T. Newby Wilson, The Landing, Ulverston; Mr. John Fletcher, Rock House, Ulverston; Mr. Jenkinson, Wordsworth Street, Penrith.

The following communication from the Society of Antiquaries, London, was read, and on the motion of the Rev. H. WHITEHEAD, seconded by the Rev. T. LEES, F.S.A., it was resolved that this Society should be registered in accordance therewith, and send copies of its publications and papers. It was also resolved that it be left to the President to nominate two delegates to attend the next Conference to be held in London in July.

(COPY).

SOC. ANTIQ. LOND.,
BURLINGTON HOUSE, PICCADILLY, LONDON, W.,
June 14th, 1889.

CONFERENCE OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETIES.

DEAR SIR,

I beg to enclose copy of the Resolutions agreed to at the adjourned Meeting of the above Conference on Tuesday, May 7th, 1889, which have now been formally considered and approved by the Council of the Society of Antiquaries.

Will you, at your earliest convenience, authorize me to submit the name of your Society for registration to the Council of the Society of Antiquaries, in accordance with Resolution I., at their Meeting on June 26th next.

I have also to inform you that the first Congress will be held at the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, on Wednesday, July 17th, 1889, at 2 p.m.

I have the honour to be, yours faithfully,
HAROLD ARTHUR DILLON, *Secretary, S.A.I.*

The Secretary, Cumberland & Westmorland Antiq. & Arch. Soc.

(COPY).

(COPY).

CONFERENCE OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETIES.

At an adjourned Meeting of the Conference of Archæological Societies, held at Burlington House, on May 7th, 1889, it was agreed that the following Recommendations be submitted to the President and Council of the Society of Antiquaries, with a request that they should receive their favourable consideration.

I.—That a Register of Antiquarian and Archæological Societies, hereinafter termed "Societies in Union," be kept at the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, and that any Society desiring to be placed on the Register should submit its application to the Council of the Society of Antiquaries, who shall grant or refuse it as they think fit.

II.—That every Society in Union shall send its Publications, and the Programmes of its Meetings, to the Society of Antiquaries, and in return shall receive a free copy of the Society of Antiquaries' Proceedings, and, should they desire it, a copy of Archæologia at the same price as that at which it is sold to Fellows.

III.—That if, on any discovery being made of exceptional interest, a Society in Union shall elect to communicate it to the Society of Antiquaries before themselves making it matter of discussion, the Society of Antiquaries, if it adopts it as the subject of a paper at one of its Ordinary Meetings, shall allow the Society in Union to make use of any Illustrations that the Society of Antiquaries may prepare.

IV.—That any Officer of a Society in Union, or any person recommended by the President, Vice-President, Chairman, or Secretary, or by two of the Members of the Council of a Society in Union, shall, on the production of proper vouchers, be allowed to use the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, but without the power of removing books, except by the express permission of the Council of the Society of Antiquaries.

V.—That from time to time a Congress shall be held in London, the first to be summoned during the present year. The Council of the Society of Antiquaries shall be ex-officio Members, and the President (or in his absence one of the Vice-Presidents) of the Society of Antiquaries shall be President of the Congress. Six Members of the Council of the Royal Archæological Institute, six of the Council of the British Archæological Association, and four of the Council of the Cambrian Archæological Association, may be nominated by these Societies to represent them at the Congress. Each Society in Union may send two Delegates to the Congress.

VI.—That the object of the Congress be to promote the better organization of Antiquarian research, and to strengthen the hands of the local Societies in securing the preservation of ancient monuments, records, and all objects of Antiquarian interest.

VII.—That for this purpose it shall promote the foundation of new Societies where such appear necessary, and the improvement and consolidation of existing Societies where advisable, and suggest the limits within which each local Society can most advantageously work, and the direction in which it appears most desirable at the moment that the efforts of the Societies in Union should be exerted.

VIII.—That the Societies in Union be invited to furnish reports from time to time with reference to their action in these directions. That the Royal Archæological Institute, the British Archæological Association, and the Cambrian Archæological Association, be requested to offer to the Congress any remarks which may be suggested by their Annual General Meetings or otherwise.

IX.—That the Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries be requested to act as Secretary of the Congress, with whom the Secretaries of the Societies in Union can correspond, and that the Council of the Society of Antiquaries be requested to advise on any matters which may arise in the interval between one meeting of the Congress and another.

(COPY).

SOC. ANTIQ. LOND.,
BURLINGTON HOUSE, PICCADILLY, LONDON, W.,
July, 8th, 1889.

CONFERENCE OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETIES.

DEAR SIR,

I have much pleasure in informing you that the name of your Society has been placed on the Register of Societies in union with the Society of Antiquaries.

Will you, at your earliest convenience, inform me the names of the Delegates appointed to represent your Society at the first Congress, which will be held at the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, on Wednesday, July 17th, 1889, at 2 p.m.

The Council of the Society of Antiquaries suggest, amongst others, the following as suitable subjects for discussion at the Congress:—

1. The formation of archæological maps by counties, on the plan already laid down by the Society of Antiquaries.
2. The preservation of ancient monuments and buildings.
3. The publication of parish registers.

I shall be glad to receive early notice of any other subject your Society or its representatives may think proper for discussion.

I have the honour to be, yours faithfully,
HAROLD ARTHUR DILLON, *Secretary, S.A.I.*

(COPY).

SOC. ANTIQ. LOND.,
BURLINGTON. HOUSE, PICDADILLY, LONDON, W.,
July 31st, 1889.

CONFERENCE OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETIES.

DEAR, SIR

I beg to inform you that the first Congress of Archæological Societies in union with the Society of Antiquaries, was held here on Wednesday, July 17th, John Evans, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., President of the Society of Antiquaries, in the chair, when delegates from the following Societies attended:— The Archæological Societies of Berkshire, Bristol and Gloucestershire, Buckinghamshire, Cumberland and Westmorland,* Derbyshire, Surrey, Sussex, Wilts, and Yorkshire; the Royal Archæological Institute; the British Archæological Association, and the Huguenot Society of London. The delegates of a number of other Societies were unfortunately prevented from attending.

* R. A. Allison, Esq., M.P., and H. Swainson-Cowper, Esq., F.S.A. attended on behalf of this society.

The

The following resolutions were discussed and agreed to :—

I. That each local Society be requested to take into consideration the desirability of placing on record, on the 6-inch scale maps of the County with which they are concerned, all the local names of fields, and all relics of antiquity for which a locality can be fixed.

That such maps should be kept in duplicate so that eventually a copy may be deposited with the Society of Antiquaries.

II. That all local Societies be requested to be on the watch against any wilful or injudicious destruction of ancient monuments or buildings, so as at once to bring local opinion to bear against the destroyers; and that in cases of what appears to be national importance, the aid of the Society of Antiquaries or the Inspector of Ancient Monuments be invoked.

III. That a Committee (consisting of Rev. Canon Benham, F.S.A., Messrs. R. S. Faber, Edwin Freshfield, LL.D., V.P.S.A., W. J. Hardy, F.S.A., and Ralph Nevill, F.S.A., with power to add to their number) be appointed to draw up a scheme for the uniform transcription of Parish Registers and Records, showing the best form of arrangement, &c., and in the case of their being printed, the best form of size, type, &c.

That the Report of such scheme should give as much information as possible in regard to printing and publishing, and such other information as may be likely to be useful to inexperienced people, who may be willing to undertake the work of transcribing.

IV. That in the case of extracts from Parish Registers and Records being printed in Parish Magazines, the Incumbents be requested to communicate copies to the Local Societies and to the Society of Antiquaries.

V. That the attention of the Local Societies be called to the proposed Bill, entitled an Act for the Preservation of Public and Private Records, which it appears may provide for a long recognised want.

It was also resolved that the Council of the Society of Antiquaries be asked to summon the next Conference in July, 1890.

I have the honour to be, yours faithfully,

HAROLD ARTHUR DILLON, *Secretary, S.A.*

The following papers were read :—Horse Interment at Lanercost, Rev. H. J. Bulkeley; Appleby Bridge, Rev. Canon Mathews; Gold Armlet found in Westmorland, Mrs. Ware; Recent Local Finds, The President; The Siege of Carlisle in 1644-5, The President.

On Friday morning several of the members visited St. Andrew's Church, Penrith. At ten o'clock the party drove to Blencow Hall, where a paper by Dr. Taylor, descriptive of the building was read, the Rev. T. Lees, F.S.A., supplementing Dr. Taylor's remarks with an account of the heraldry over the doorway of the Hall. Leaving Blencow, a short drive brought the party to Johnby Hall, where a second

second paper was read by Dr. Taylor, who conducted the visitors around the building and grounds. Afterwards a visit was paid to Greenthwaite Hall, where again Dr. Taylor acted as *cicerone*, and explained this very interesting building. At all these Halls Mr. Lees added to the interest of Dr. Taylor's papers by drawing on his well-furnished note book for accounts of the families, who once owned and inhabited them. The day's programme included luncheon at the Queen's Head Inn. Afterwards, Greystoke Church was minutely inspected, and Mr. Lees, who was for many years curate of Greystoke, read an interesting, historical, and descriptive paper, which will appear in the Society's Transactions. From Greystoke the party drove to Dacre, and went over the Castle and Church, the Rev. W. S. Calverley, the Rev. Canon Mathews, the Rev. T. Lees, and the Vicar of Dacre (the Rev. J. White), taking a prominent part in the discussions which arose in the course of the ramble over these buildings. The four beasts of stone in the churchyard excited great curiosity, and the Vicar read a paper on them ; the Rev. Canon Mathews read a paper on a carved stone found in the east wall of the church. This brought the day's programme to a close, and the members returned to Penrith, where the party broke up after a thoroughly successful, and a very pleasant and profitable meeting.

On Saturday morning, a few of the members who had stayed over night had a run to Eamont Bridge, and there inspected with great interest, Mayburgh, King Arthur's Round Table, and other objects of interest ; Major Arnison taking the party in charge, and genially filling for the occasion the office of guide.

Wednesday, and Thursday, September 4th and 5th, 1889.

On Wednesday, Sept. 4th, 1889, at 2 p.m., the members of the Society and their friends to the number of about 110, met on Bowness pier, and embarked on Col. Ridehalgh's beautiful steam yacht the *Britannia ;* in this well found craft they proceeded first to Lake Foot, and from thence to Waterhead, with the view of ascertaining whether it is likely that the Romans used the lake as a waterway. At Waterhead carriages were taken for Hawkshead ; on *route* the site of the Roman Camp near the head of the lake was pointed out. At Hawkshead Hall a paper on that building was read by Mr. H. Swainson-Cowper, F.S.A., by whose kindness tea was also provided for the party in the Town Hall, at Hawkshead. The church was afterwards visited, where Mr. John W. Ford read a paper on two fine Rawlinson monuments, which through his exertions had been removed from one of

of the city churches on its demolition, to Hawkshead. From that place the party returned to Ambleside, and a large number dined at the Queen's Hotel. After dinner the following new members were proposed and elected:—Mr. Herbert Moser, Kendal; Major Alcock-Beck, Hawkshead (proposed by Mr. Swainson-Cowper); Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Severn, Coniston (proposed by Mr. W. G. Collingwood); Lady Lawson, Brayton Hall; Mr. W. H. Watson, Braystones; Mr. Myles Kennedy, Ulverston; Mr. Cowper Essex, Hawkshead; Miss Mary Ullock, Bowness; and Mr. S. H. le Fleming, Rydal Hall (proposed by the President).

The PRESIDENT moved a vote of thanks to Colonel Ridehalgh for the kind way in which he had taken the members round the lake. (Applause). The trip had added greatly to the *eclat* of the meeting, and it was a pleasure to embark on that beautiful yacht, everything on it being so shipshape and well found. A friend of his had remarked to him, on seeing the programme proposed for the meeting, that they were going to have very little archæology and a great deal of pic-nic. The President scarcely concurred in this idea. The first thing for an archæologist to do, was to endeavour to understand the topography of the district in which he was interested: that they were trying to do when they went up and down the lake that day. The conclusion the President had come to, as the result of the voyage, was that the Romans must have used the lake for the conveyance of stone from Dalton-in-Furness to the north end of Windermere, where there was a Roman camp.

The vote of thanks to Colonel Ridehalgh was carried with acclamation.

Rev. H. WHITEHEAD made a few remarks on a cup and cover belonging to Ambleside church, which the vicar, the Rev. C. H. Chase, kindly brought for exhibition. This cup is a magnificent example of a distinctive fashion that prevailed from 1608 to 1628, of which the Carpenters' and Armourers' Companies have good examples. The cup has an inscription just below the rim, stating that it was presented to the parish of Grasmere (spelled on the cup Gresmore) in the year 1684 by Mr. James Newton, to be used for communion purposes. The date of the presentation was 1684, but from the marks on the cup it was made in 1618, and had probably been used for secular purposes before being dedicated to sacred use. It is engraved in *Old Church Plate in the Diocese of Carlisle*. There were also shown a massive silver ring which was recently found in an urn in a garden at Urswick (Ulverston), and the seal of the Statute Merchant of Carlisle, on which the President made a few observations. There was also

also shown a large lock and key that secured the door of a house in Finkle Street, Kendal, from which the shot was fired by whic one of the rebels was killed on Saturday, December 14th, 1745.

Dr. BARNES read a paper on the "Plague in Cumberland and Westmorland," which will be printed in the Society's Transactions.

The PRESIDENT made some remarks on the Roman camp at Ambleside, which there had been no time to visit in the afternoon. The remains were, he said, now very scanty and must at one time have been much larger. Camden, who wrote about 1600, stated that at the upper end of Windermere lay the carcase of an ancient city; the fort had been oblong in figure, fortified with a ditch and rampart, and from the remains of bricks and mortar, and coins found, the work was evidently Roman. Sir Daniel le Fleming, writing in 1671, bore out the observations of the previous writer. West, the author of the guide to the lakes, writing about 1792, mentioned the camp, deploring its ruinous state; and Hodgson, the historian of Northumberland, in his history of Westmorland, written in 1820, gave an account of a visit to the place. Some of the coins and other articles found, including a small brass eagle, were now in a museum at Keswick. A collection of Roman gold, silver, brass, and copper coins found at Ambleside was given to the Bodleian Library, in 1674, and it would, the President said, be interesting to get a sight of these, as from them some deductions might be made as to the age of the camp. The camp must have covered about $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres, and it might be imagined was meant to accommodate a cohort of 400 men. Roman bricks and tiles had been found near the camp, showing the existence of a number of villas, inhabited probably by the wealthier class of Romans. There was some evidence in Burn & Nicolson's History of Westmorland of a Roman villa having existed on Curwen's Isle, on the Lake, but the evidence was not very positive.

The meeting then closed, it being ten minutes to eleven.

Next morning the members were seated in five *char-a-bancs* at eight o'clock, and a start was made from the Salutation Hotel at a quarter past, by way of Skelwith to Little Langdale, whose soft beauty was enhanced by the morning sun. Lazily the bits of cloud clinging to the north end of the magnificent form of Wetherlam were rolled upwards, and the warmth of a perfect autumn day was enjoyed during the rest of the route. The solitary hill farm, Fell Foot, was reached shortly before ten o'clock, and here the first halt was made. The well defined earth work at the west side of the house was inspected and its resemblance to the Manx Tinwald hill near St. John's, was verified. Peaceably set at the head of this intensely quiet valley the "law ting" had been fixed at a convenient spot for the people from the

the neighbouring dales to muster and submit their grievances to the rude but strict law adjudged by the elder men. Standing on the green top of the mound Mr. Swainson Cowper read a paper on the hitherto undescribed Law Ting.

From this point everybody had to walk up the sinuous road over Wrynose, and never since the long string of packhorses and packmen had trudged over the same way from Whitehaven to Kendal with their valuable loads, had so many pedestrians toiled along that road, at the same time, as were seen on Thursday. The party, both ladies and gentlemen, begun the long tussle with the difficulties of the 1250 feet climb to the top of Wrynose Pass with light hearts, but those stubborn heights, plus those of Hardknott, soon clogged the light hearts with heavy heels, for the work to do was fairly good even for a practised walker. How anyone can reasonably expect such steep mountain tracks to be safely traversed by heavy carriages passes belief. There are sharp drops of one in three, and breakneck turns in both passes which careful folk would only face on fell ponies, or better still, on their own legs. A couple of inches deep of loose samel and rough stones on the steepest bits didn't tend to make them any easier. However, good spirits and pluck on the part of the ladies carried them over the ground as cheerfully as any of the stronger sex. The usual contortions needed to stoop in and touch the three counties of Westmorland, Cumberland, and Lancashire were made at the three shire stones, and the descent to Wrynose Bottom—the least interesting bit of the route—was begun. A halt to water the horses was made at Cockley Beck, and then Hardknott Pass was faced. About three-quarters of the way up a well-marked burial cairn on the west side of the road was visited, and the top of the pass —1290 feet above sea level—was reached. On descending hence the worst bits of road on the route were met with, and the drivers of the machines—empty, of course—must have had both coolness and capacity to reach the foot without a turn-over.

The party left the road to inspect Hardknott Castle—where Lord and Lady Muncaster had been waiting some time to receive them.

Here the PRESIDENT read a paper. Asking his audience to transfer their thoughts for a while to the period of the Roman occupation of Britain, he traced in imagination the journey of a party of Roman tourists from Lancaster by the inland route of Kendal, Ambleside, Wrynose and Hardknott to Ravenglass. On reaching the summit of the pass, the eyes of the travellers, after a momentary general survey of the Vale of Esk far below them, would rest on the massive walls of the fortress, which rose boldly from the slopes to the right of their descending path. As they approached the fortress, the travellers

travellers would pass the parade ground, a space of about two acres in extent, cleared of rocks and stones and levelled, on which it might well happen that at the moment the garrison was drawn up in review order to be inspected by the general commanding at Eboracum, or some officer of high rank. The visitors would remark the brilliance of his uniform, and his silver gorget with phaleræ of chalcedony and jet, adorned, perhaps, with the proud inscription — "Britannia Devicta" beneath the figure of a crouching Briton. The inspection over, the party would pass into the fort beneath an arched gateway, over which, partially defaced by time and weather, could still be discerned some letters of the word "Agricola," under whose command the stronghold had been erected. But it was then 300 years since Rome had set her foot on the island, and the commandant could scarcely satisfy the enquiry, which his visitors addressed to him, whether the erection of the fortress was the work of the great general of the name or of another of lesser fame, one Lucius Calpurnius Agricola. As the commandant courteously entertained his guests and feasted them on salmon from the Esk and venison from the fells, the commandant would no doubt bewail to them the hardships of his lot, cast amidst rugged mountains beneath an inclement sky, and dwell with regret upon the genial sunshine of far-off Italy, or the social delights of less distant Carlisle. And so to Ravenglass the party would then wend their way, and there in the hospitable villa of the tribune, who ruled over the busy port, would forget the fatigues of their toilsome and difficult journey.

Recalling his hearers from the 4th to the 19th century, the President then briefly described the existing remains, and the various objects which had been obtained by examination on the spot.

The scene here was most glorious. The rich and romantic valley of Eskdale stretched away towards Ravenglass and the sea, while to the north the monarchs of the Lake hills—Scawfell and Scawfell Pike, with Bowfell, Great End, and their big fellows, softened by a silvery haze, stood sentinels over a scene unmatched in the kingdom. A steep scramble down from the camp landed the party at the foot of the pass where the carriages were again mounted, and a drive past lusciously scented hay-fields and corn hattocks soon landed the company at the Woolpack Inn, in Eskdale, where lunch awaited them, very much wanted by everybody, for even archæologists "cannot live on papers alone." Here a quiet rest under the trees, a short paper by the President on the Stanleys of Dalegarth, and an examination of two British urns found at Barnscar, which Lord Muncaster had brought, filled a pleasant half-hour, when the carriages were again mounted, and while some drove to BeckFoot to catch

catch the train, others went to visit Eskdale church and the waterfall at Stanley Gill, thus finishing one of the pleasantest of the many pleasant excursions of the Society.

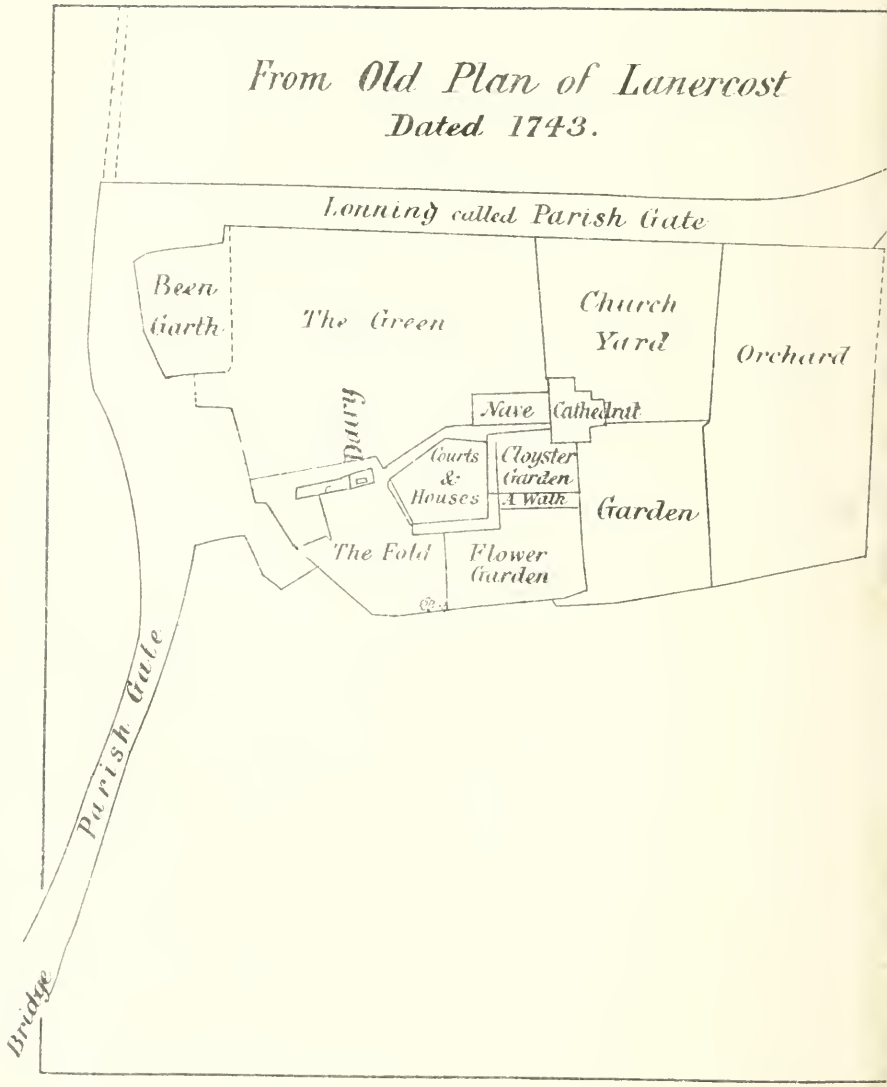
This meeting in point of numbers beats the record; ninety-three were present on the first day, and sixty-five on the second. The committee may well be congratulated on their successful arrangements: it was no trifling exploit to bring five huge carriages and so many people safely over Wrynose and Hardknott, and speaks most creditably for the drivers and their horses, which were furnished by Mr. Michael Taylor, the landlord of the Queen's and Salutation hotels at Ambleside.

ART. V.—*On a supposed interment of a Horse with Human Remains at Lanercost.* BY THE REV. H. J. BULKELEY.

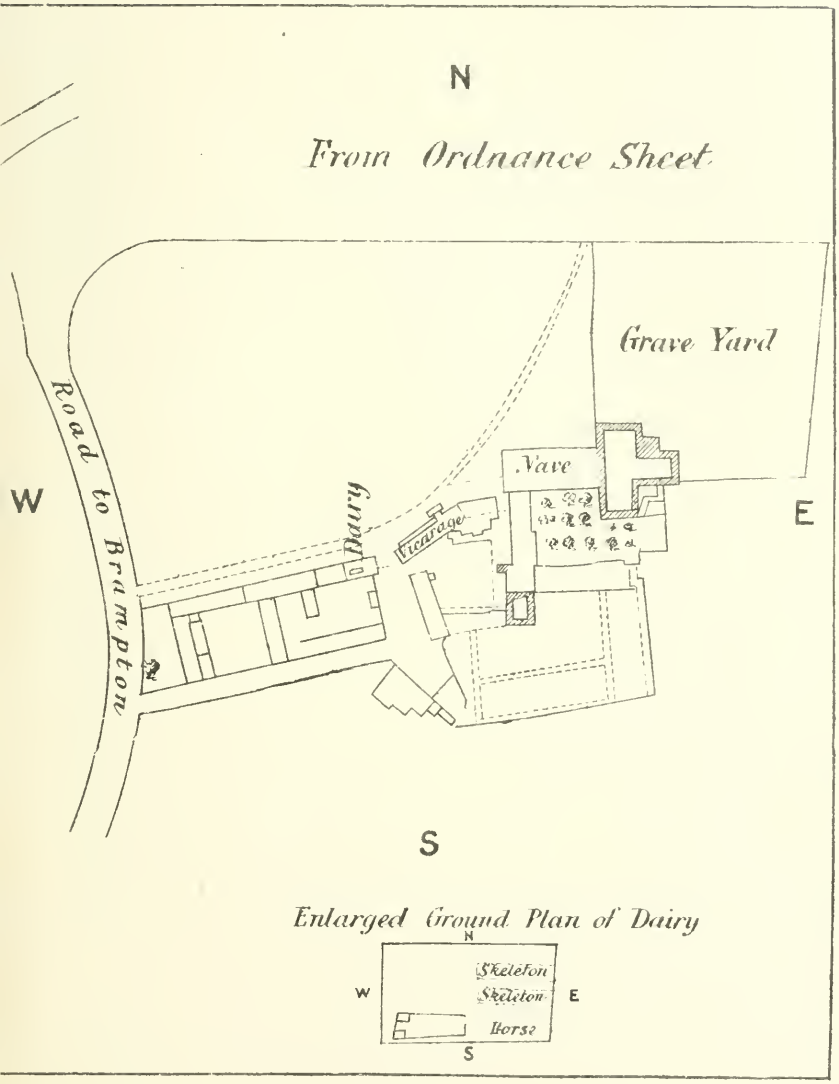
RECENTLY some workmen were deepening the farm dairy, which stands a few yards from the west end of the vicarage and, according to the plan of Lanercost Priory of the date 1743, occupies the site of an old building: they found three human bodies buried about four feet below the surface. One body lay from south to north, but the others in the usual position, from west to east.* One body, larger than the others, lying from west to east, was entombed, being surrounded and covered by rough flags of stone, with a special chamber for the head, as in some old stone coffins. There were some traces of lime having been used to join the stones of this chamber, but not the other stones. None of them showed any signs of inscription or of fine working. They were recognised by one of the workmen as from a neighbouring quarry. The body lay on the earth. The skull was in good preservation, only one tooth wanting. The soil was river gravel. The remains of a horse's skeleton was found at the foot of this body, and those of another horse at a little distance off and outside the walls of the building marked in the plan of 1743. The bones of the second horse were of remarkable size, so large that it was supposed they might be those of some ancient monster buried in the old river gravel, but an expert has decided that they are only the bones of a horse. Remembering how the "Society upon the Stainslow" was broken up through Mr. Jones proving that some supposed prehistoric bones were only those of "one of his lost mules," we should bear in mind that farmers have been known to bury near their farms cows and horses that

* My information is that all three skeletons were lying from west to east.—EDITOR.

have



LANERCOST ABBEY, 1743.



LANERCOST ABBEY, 1889.

have died, but this is being too sceptical. Some years ago, when drains were being made, other human remains were found near this spot. It may have been part of an old parish burial ground, but Lord William Howard, in copying the inscription on the cross on the green, says that it stood *in cimiterio exteriore*, and it is not likely that the position should have been changed, especially considering the adjacent position of the present churchyard, or that there should have been two parish burial grounds so near to one another. Nor is it likely that the whole green was a burial ground, for it would have been extravagantly large, and excavations have been made in other parts of the green without the discovery of human remains. May these burials have been anterior to the foundation of the priory? Is this the site of an ancient church and churchyard? But, if the tomb was that of some semi-christianised Dane or Saxon, buried with his faithful horse to bear him company to the shades, and if (there is much virtue in your "if") there were at that time any remains of an intramural Roman station, why were not stones to make the tomb taken from the ruins at hand, instead of from a quarry some distance off? Or was the body that of some famous mosstrooper, excommunicated on account of his crimes, and so denied burial in consecrated ground, and yet by not altogether unsympathetic monks allowed a resting-place near the priory? In the plan of 1743 a small plot of ground, including the old building, within the lines of which the entombed body was found, is called "The Fold." Can this name have such an ecclesiastical interpretation as may help us?

APPENDIX BY THE EDITOR.

With the exception of the farmer and his wife, and the workmen employed, no one saw this find, as an agent on the estate declined to allow the work to be stopped: by his orders the skeletons were buried elsewhere, and the stones of the cist piled up in a heap. This is much to

to be regretted, as Mr. Bulkeley resides within a few feet of the place. He heard of the find afterwards, and gathered what he could from the workmen.

The cist was six feet long by two feet broad: the chamber for the head was one foot by ten inches, giving a total length of seven feet, so that the occupant must have been a very tall man. His feet were to the east, and the skeleton of the horse was at his feet, lying east and west; the other two skeletons were on the north side of the horse, and close to it. All were at a uniform depth of three feet below the floor of the dairy, and so close together as to make it almost impossible for the horse to have been inserted later without disturbing the human interments: of this there was no sign. There can be no doubt that the interments of the men and horse (the first horse) are older than the building of 1743, whose date is unknown.

It may be worth while to mention in this connection that the Dacre of Naworth, who fell at Towtonfield, was buried at Saxton churchyard with his horse beneath him.* Local tradition says the moss troopers of the Borders were in the habit of having their horses buried with them.

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*See *Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Society*, vol. x, p. 299.

BLENCOW HALL.

ART. VI.—*Some Manorial Halls in the Barony of Greystoke.*

BY M. WAISTELL TAYLOR, M.D., F.S.A.

Read July 5th, 1889.

I.—BLENCOW HALL.

THIS is a picturesque and interesting specimen of the successive changes and development in domestic architectural planning which have occured in the North of England, and it is one of the numerous manor-houses, which were holden of the great Barony of Greystoke. It is pleasantly situated on a gentle slope in the valley of the Petteril, about a mile from Greystoke Castle, and not far from the village of Great Blencow. In the 16th of Ed. III., William de Graystock succeeded as Baron of Graystock and lord of Morpeth; he was a man of renown and a builder; he built Morpeth Castle, and it was during his lifetime, about ten years after his succession that the expansion of Graystock Castle was commenced; for he obtained the king's licence to castellate his manor-house at Graystock. William de Graystock served with the Black Prince in invasions into France, and one of his followers was Adam de Blencowe. Adam must have greatly distinguished himself on some occasion, probably at the battle of Poictiers, for in honor of his prowess, the lord of Graystock granted to Adam and his heirs by warrant, his own arms with a counter change of tincture, viz, a shield sable with a bend barred argent and azure, with three chaplets of roses gules.*

The Notes appended to the text, have been added to this paper by the kindness of the Rev. Thomas Lees, M.A., F.S.A., Wreay, Carlisle.

* This grant of Arms was made A.D. 1356. Nine years before this (xxi. ED. III. 1347), King Edward the III. had granted to Adam de Blencowe the "Clausa de Calnethwayt and Braythwaythowes" in the Royal Forest of Inglewood; and two years afterwards in 1358, makes him another grant of all the lands in Greystoke, Blencowe and Newbigging, which had belonged to John Riddall. The estate at Great Blencowe was sold in 1802, to William Troutbeck Esq., (Lyson's Cumberland, p. 90), THOMAS LEES.

It

It cannot be maintained that this place was the site of the homestead of Adam de Blencowe,* for there is nothing remaining here that can take us back to the middle of the 14th century; it is probable that the ivy-clad tower on the N. side was erected by one of the Blencowes after the middle of the 15th century. The generations of the Blencowes enjoyed honourable consideration and made distinguished alliances with the gentry of the county, and they have handed down their descent in the male line, I believe, to the present time, and the family had residence here until the close of the 18th century. In 1802 Mr. Henry Prescot Blencowe sold the property to the Duke of Norfolk, and it is now included in the Greystoke domain.

During the Civil War the place was battered with cannon by a detachment of the parliamentary army, and a raised platform is pointed out in an adjoining field from which the guns were levelled.†

The S. tower is roofless, and presents a shell of bare walls, the N. tower is partly ruinous, but the lower portion has been re-roofed, and is utilised as a stable and hayloft. The central portion is quite habitable, and is occupied as the residence for the farm.

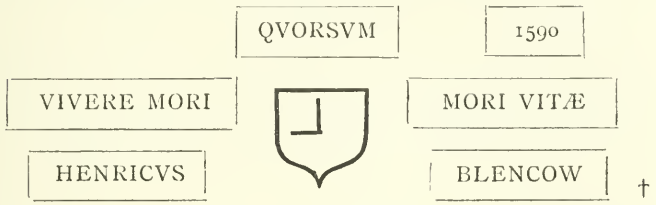
The entrance to the premises is through a quadrangular courtyard on the W. side, about 70 ft. square, and our attention is at once attracted to the carvings over the door in the centre of the main block. It is a Tudor-headed doorway, with beaded and hollow moulding; surmounting the lintel there is an oblong slab, inclosed within a boldly

* Burn conjectures that the first seat was at Great Blencow on the other side of the river, where he mentions the ruins of an old tower as existing in his day. *Burn and Nicolson*, vol. ii. p. 375.

† General Lambert in command of the Parliamentary forces took Penrith on 15th June 1648, and made it his head quarters for a month. Detachments of his army took Greystoke, Rose, and Scaleby Castles; Denton, in his MS. History of Cumberland, says that Greystoke and Rose Castles were burnt by Major Cholmley in 1648. Probably the Major commanded this detachment of Lambert's army. As Blencowe Hall lay in the direct way from Greystoke to Rose it seems most likely that it was battered on this occasion. THOMAS LEES.

projecting

projecting label, terminating in round ornamental caps. In the centre of the stone there is a shield with a canton in the 1st quarter, without any other charge, and in raised Roman capitals, in three lines, the inscription:—*



†

Superimposed, there is another smaller square tablet, also within a hood-moulding, which contains the initials H B and three shields, set one and two.

The shield in the upper compartment is blank or has been defaced; below, the dexter shield bears Crackenthorpe (chevron between 3 mullets, 2 and 1); ‡ the sinister shield is charged with a fret of 8 pieces and a chief.

The general plan and construction of the central building accords with the style prevalent at the date 1590 given on the tablet, presenting the usual Elizabethan characteristics. It is a long single tenement of two stories, the rooms having windows on both sides: these are divided by chamfered mullions into two, three, or four lights; and have hoods with a hollow splay beneath, with terminations in balls carved with crosses, or with spiral and circular lines, and some with the initials of the builder, H. B.

The principal doorway in the middle of the building

* Anthony Blencowe married Winifred daughter of Thomas Dudley; and thus the Blencowes were related to Lord Guildford Dudley, the husband of the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey. On the night before her execution Lady Jane wrote an exhortation at the end of a New Testament which she sent to her sister Lady Catharine Grey, in which are these words "Live still to die, that you by death may purchase eternal life." May not this inscription be an echo of this? Mr. W. Jackson pointed out this coincidence to me. THOMAS LEES.

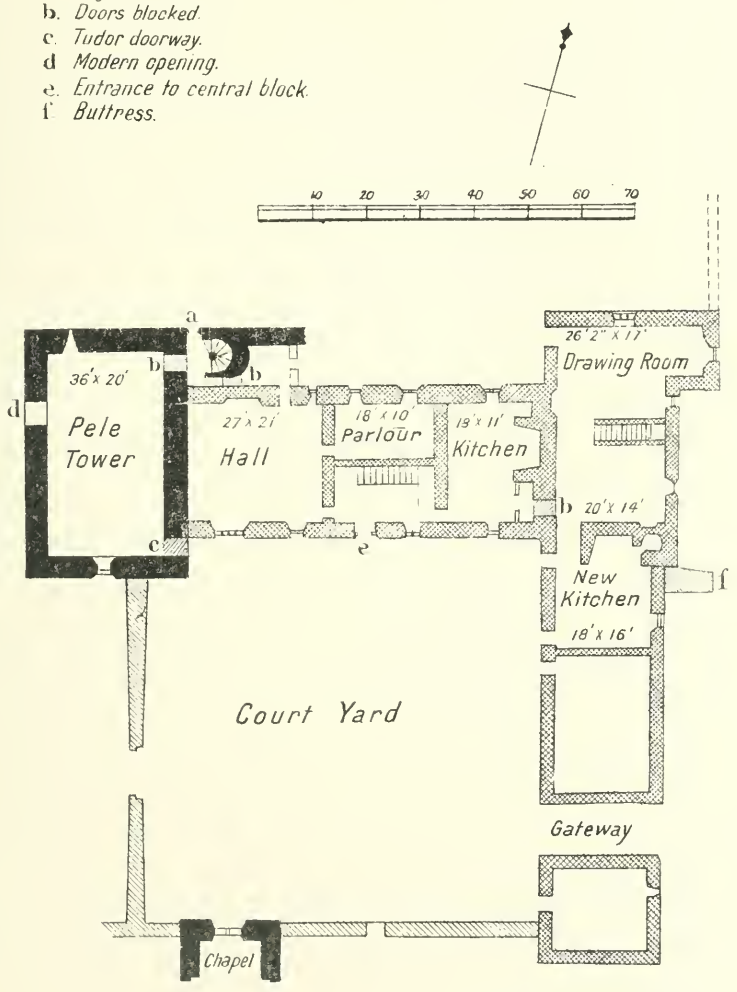
† On this inscription, see these Transactions, vol. i, p. 335, vol. vi, p. 289.

‡ Richard Blencow married Eleanor Crackenthorpe. *Temp.* Hen. vii. Possibly this man might have been the builder of the pele: the style and details accord with this epoch.—*M.W.T.*

gives

gives entry to a passage or vestibule; to the left of which is the common hall or dining place, 27 ft. by 21 ft., at this period an apartment of greatly reduced dimensions, and no longer holding the place of importance in the establishment which it did in the previous century. At one end of the hall is the usual little parlour, 18 ft. by 10ft., with two mullioned windows to the E. front. In the vestibule there is a straight flight of steps to the first floor, which contains bedrooms only. To the right of the passage is the original kitchen pertaining to the dwelling in this stage of its occupation. It is small, 18 ft. by 11 ft., exclusive of a large recess; the fireplace opening consists of an elliptic arch of 9 ft. 9 in. span. This central block bears evidence of having all been built at one time, and of having been set up against the side of the N. tower. This tower has a projection from the face of the block of 7 ft. into the courtyard, and of 10 ft. 9 in. on the E. front. The central portion of the edifice has 62 feet of frontage, and forms connection with two towers in the form of the letter H. These two towers are, roughly speaking, of about equal dimensions, and both externally present a similar plan and elevation, so that, viewed superficially, or from a distance, the visitor might easily imagine that both were contemporaneous. However, when I point out to you the differences in detail, I have confidence that you will agree with me in my interpretation of the history of Blencow Hall. Let us take first the N. tower. This is oblong and rectangular in plan; its dimensions on the N. side are 44 ft. and on the W. 32 ft., but the E. face has been prolonged by a projecting turret about ten feet square, so as to have presented originally an ⌊ shaped plan. To the re-entering side of this turret the front wall of the Elizabethan addition has been affixed. Within the turret is a corkscrew stair entered by a narrow doorway on the E. front, by which access is obtained to the floors of the building. In the main tower there is a basement, two stories, and a battlemented

a. *Original Entrance.*
b. *Doors blocked.*
c. *Tudor doorway.*
d *Modern opening.*
e. *Entrance to central block.*
f *Buttress.*



GROUND FLOOR PLAN.

BLENCOW HALL

battlemented roof. The basement contains one single chamber, 36 ft. by 20 ft.; it had no stone vaulting, but was joisted in timber. On the first floor there is a room of equal dimensions, entered by an elliptic doorway from a landing on the spiral stair; this represents the solar of the old keep. This is now covered over with a pent-house roof, and is used as a hay-loft. The tower above this is a ruin, the roof and floorings are gone. The newel stair still gives access to the battlements. It may be seen that the second story has contained two rooms, each with a Tudor fire-place in the N. wall; the dividing partitions must have been of wood, as there is no transverse wall of division in the tower. The covering has probably been a slightly inclined roof of overlapping flags, allowing of a walk within the parapet all round. The merlons and embrasures are coped with a splay and round. The parapet is very slightly projected from a plain cornice tabling, and at the angles there are gutter-spouts or gurgoyles. There are several little square window-slits remaining in this tower, but the larger openings are mullioned, with square labels over them, with ball terminations, some carved with the initials H. B., probably Elizabethan insertions. The masonry is in substantial rubble in well-laid regular courses, and the walls are $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. thick, without plinth or set-off.

Here, therefore, we have a tower constructed evidently for defence, on the model of the ordinary square keep or border pele, with an attached turret on the ⌊ shaped plan, which became common in the 15th and 16th centuries. It is true that there is an absence here of the vaulted substructure, but in some of the later pele towers the vaulting in stone of the basement came to be omitted, as we have seen at Clifton tower, and at Hutton Hall, Penrith. It may be asserted that this keep stood alone as the homestead of the Blencowes for a period of 100 years before Henry Blencowe made his enlargements in Elizabeth's reign.

We

We proceed now to the inspection of the S. tower, which is attached to the opposite end of the central building. This erection lies in the same plane, occupying pretty nearly a corresponding superficies, follows the same projections, presents a similar elevation, with adjunctive details of battlemented parapet and string-course, identical with the N. tower. But we need not proceed far in the inspection, before we can perceive that it is but a superficial copy of the old keep, made at a much later date, when all thought of defensive requirements in a structure had been abandoned. The mason work is not so substantially laid, it is more shallow, the walls are only $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. thick, the windows on the ground floor are large mullioned openings, and affording easy access from the outside. It is cut up into a variety of rooms very much as a modern house. The ground floor is divided into two unequal compartments, by double partition walls, inclosing a scale stair of twelve steps, 2 ft. 8 in. wide, leading to the upper floor. The larger apartment has been the drawing-room of the renovated mansion, and measures, inclusive of the projecting bay, 29 ft. by 17 ft.; it is well lighted by a 5 ft. mullioned window to the E. and by two other lights to the S.; there is a Tudor fireplace with an oblique triangular recess sunk in the lintel stone; a square doorway with a plain chamfer gives an entrance from the garden front. The smaller apartment is 20 ft. by 14 ft., and it communicates directly with the range of buildings forming the wing in the courtyard. In the interior the common rubble of the walls has been covered with cement. Above, there have been two floors, with private apartments having fireplaces and square windows, some with mullions and handsome hood mouldings coved in cavetto with carved terminations of the same description as prevail throughout the rest of the edifice. This tower is now a roofless shell, with a great rent in its E. wall.

My

My belief is that the addition of this tower was an afterthought in the renovation of Blencow Hall, effected by Henry Blencowe, in 1590. He first finished the oblong main block attached to the old pele, which formed a compact substantial dwelling house complete in itself, with hall, kitchen, and necessary apartments. But Henry Blencowe was a man of importance in the county, he had married Grace, sister of Sir Richard Sandford, of Howgill Castle, in Westmorland. He improved in position during the time of James I., from whom he received the honour of knighthood, and he was twice High Sheriff of Cumberland. It is possible, therefore, that some years later Blencowe conceived the idea of further extensions for domestic accommodation, and in carrying out the plan he seems to have been governed by the desire of producing symmetry in the elevation, which in the Jacobean period had come to be considered as essential in architectural design. Hence in projecting a wing from the opposite side of the central block, with its advanced style of internal planning and capacity, he imitated the external features of the old pele tower, so that the two towers might be symmetrical and balance each other.*

The range of buildings attached to this tower, forming the S. enclosure of the courtyard, was constructed at the same time. On the ground floor was the new kitchen, 18 ft. by 16 ft., with large fireplace and oven under a built-

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* Dr. Taylor's conjecture as regards the erection of the present Hall is confirmed by the following statement made by Edmund Sandford in his MS. "Cursory Relation of the Antiquities and Familyes of Cumberland, writ about the year 1675."

"A little above Grastock Castle sixteen miles south of Carlisle and first you have thereupon Blencow; an ancient Sq. family; and one knight of late, Sir Henry Blencow, grandfather of the now Sqr. Blencow made it a very fair house of two towers, and married Grace Sandford, sister of the first Sir Rich. Sandford, of Howgill in Westmorland; and a younger braneh of the Sandfords of Askam Tower nye hand; and Crister Blencow married Mary Robinson of Rooby Hall, Yorkshire, and the now Squire Blencow, married Anne Layton; eldest daughter to Sq. William Layton of Dalemain: 300 p. an. THOMAS LEES.

up

up low segmental arch, with wide, open chimney, and adjoining were the usual store rooms and offices, and above were the servants dormitories. This wing is pierced with a wide semicircular archway through which is the road to the extensive outside farm offices; the mullioned and labelled windows are in due proportion and harmony with the style prevailing throughout the entire structure. The remains of a small chapel still exists, situated on the W. side of the courtyard, a portion of the E. window has been preserved in the gable end facing the quadrangle; it consists of an acutely pointed arch, recessed with round and hollow mouldings, divided by a chamfered shaft into two pointed lights, without cusps or tracery.

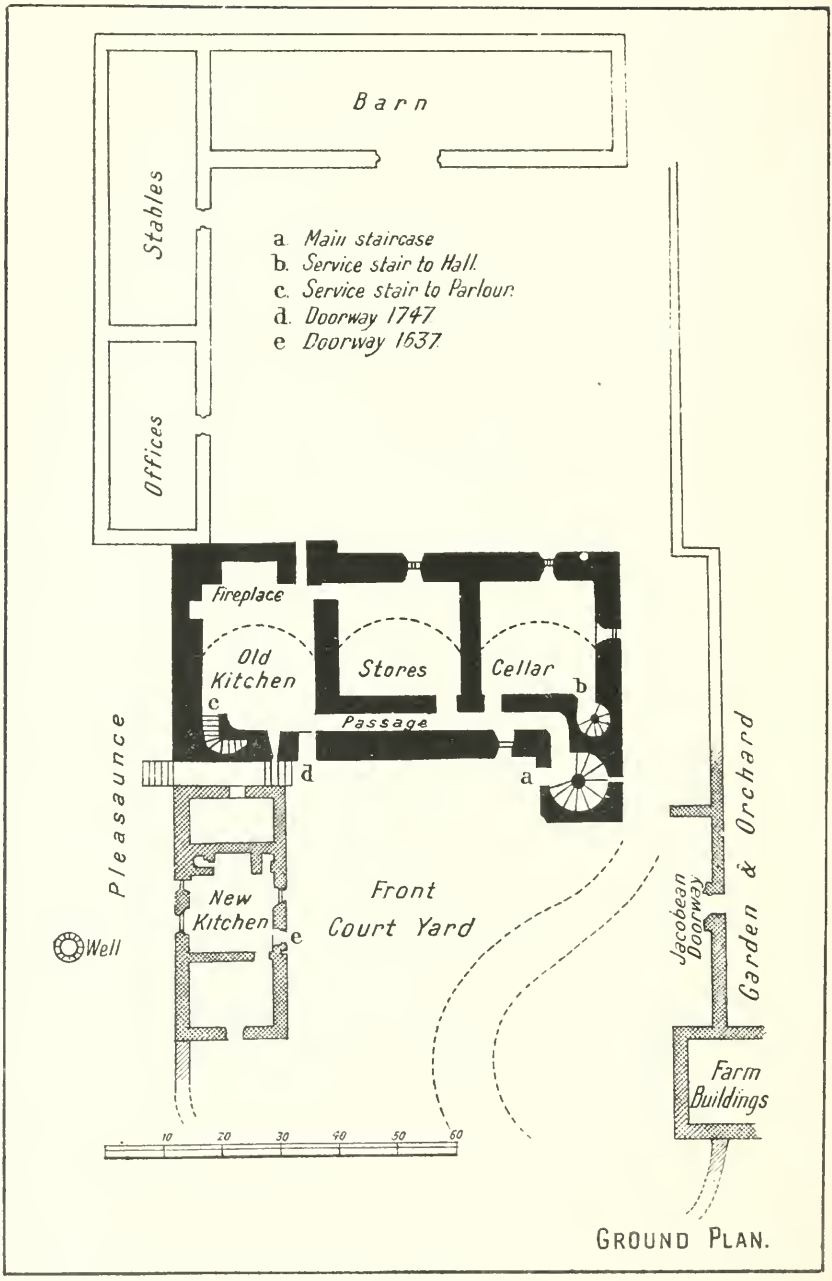
II.—Johnby Hall.

Johnby Hall is a small dependent manor of the Barony of Greystock, and stands on the verge of the eastern boundary wall of Greystock Park. At the very beginning of the present century Charles the 11th, Duke of Norfolk, added 1,000 acres to the old park of Greystoke Castle by throwing into it large pastures from the Johnby and Greenthwaite estates, which he had recently purchased, so as to form a vast inclosure of about 6,000 acres, surrounded by a wall 9 ft. high.

Within a short distance is the hamlet of Johnby, in which still exist some remains of ancient yeomen homesteads, A remnant of the forest and mosslands constituting part of the forest of Englewood, which comprehended the rough wild country to the north, is found close by in the moor and scrub of Johnby Wythes, the famous fox-cover. The old pronunciation of the place name, *Jwo-anby*, is preserved in the vernacular of the district.

The

JOHNLY HALL.


Barn
Stables
Offices
a. Main staircase
b. Service stair to Hall.
c. Service stair to Parlour.
d. Doorway 1747
e. Doorway 1637
Fireplace
Old Kitchen
Stores
Cellar
Passage
New Kitchen
Front Court Yard
Pleasaunce
Well
Jacobean Doorway
Garden & Orchard
Farm Buildings
10 20 30 40 50 60
GROUND PLAN.

JOHNBY HALL.

The environs of the hall embrace an extensive cluster of 17th century erections indicative of the agricultural weal and activity of the period; great barns, byres, stabling and out-buildings, with mullioned and labelled windows, and inclosures of high "massy walls and brave stone dykes" for gardens and orchard.

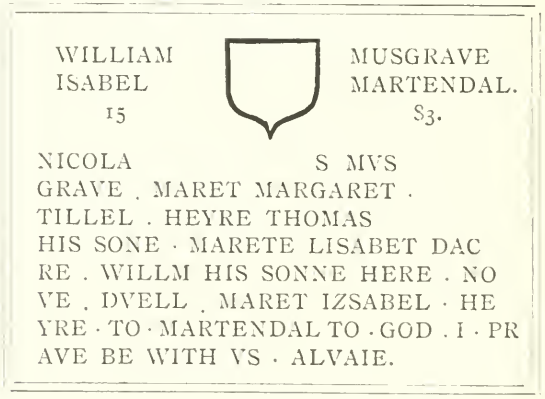
Within an inner courtyard stands the dwelling house. The original hall consists of a rectangular oblong block, substantially, but plainly built of freestone rubble in regular courses, with dressed stones at the coins and openings: it is in three stories, with a hipped roof, without a parapet. Jutting out at the S.E. corner of the main building, with a projection of 10½ ft., there is a small rectangular tower 12½ ft. in width, which presents at the re-entering angle the main entrance to the house. This gives to the plan the ⌊ shaped formation, which was adopted very frequently in the period which succeeded the pele tower epoch, and which was perpetuated for a long time in country mansions, especially in Scotland.

Our attention is at once attracted by the carved panel and inscription over the entrance. The treatment of the doorway is unique in detail. The opening is square-headed, shewing a renaissance character, the lintel and jambs having a bold roll on the angle, and surrounded by a bead and hollow moulding. Besides which there is a bold ornamental moulding carried alongside the jambs over the head of the doorway, forming an ogee arch, inclosing a blank tympanum, with the curve produced upwards in the contrary direction to join the horizontal string course on the wall of the tower. Within the space thus included there is a stone panel, on which are carved the coat of arms and an inscription. In this carving there is a remarkable anomaly in the disposition of the ornaments placed over the shield. The helmet stands direct without bars and a little open, denoting a knight's degree, furnished with mantling and tassels, but without wreath

wreath or crest, and below the head-piece clasping the collar are two gauntlets grasping an annulet, a very unusual place to find the crest of the Musgraves. On the shield there are:—1st 6 annulets, 3, 2, and 1, charged with a martlet, (for *Musgrave*), 2d barry of six, a bend sinister, (for *Martindale*), 3d lion rampant, (for *Tilliol*), 4th 3 swords in triangle with the points outwards, (for *(Stapleton*). The shield is surrounded with a roundel, with the motto in raised Roman letters:—

"O GOD GIVE ME VISDOM TO KNOVE THE,"

and in a line below, the date 1584. Below there is carved the following inscription in eight lines:—



It was quite the mode at this period for the founder to insert such a tablet over the entrance to his building setting forth his coat of arms and some quaint record of its erection. We have had opportunities of viewing many examples of such carved panels over doorways of about the same date, for instances, those set up by Vaux at Catterlen, 1577, by Sandford at Askham, 1574, by Crackenthorpe at Newbiggin, 1533, by Cliburn at Cliburn 1567, and Blencow at Blencow, 1590.

The

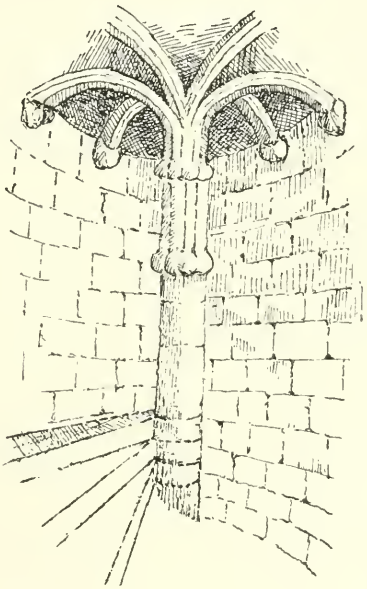
The whole length of the ground floor is vaulted in three divisions, each forming a chamber traversing the breadth of the building; each compartment is arched over with the identical semicircular tunnel-vault which had for centuries been employed in the basement chambers of castle-keeps and peles. The walls have a thickness of 4 ft. In the compartment to the W., which is the largest, in consequence of the inclusion of the passage, there is a fine chimney-recess surmounted with a segmental arch of 10 ft. 6 in. span, with a bold bead on the arris. This was undoubtedly the old kitchen; its measurements are 24 ft. by 20 ft. At one angle there is a narrow newel-stair leading to the lord's parlour on the first floor, and opposite there is a passage running the length of the building in front to the main staircase of the hall. There is communication also with the two other cellars which, no doubt served as buttery and storehouse. All the window lights on the basement are small rectangular openings, these being one to the front, three to the back of the house, and two in the gable, all very small, with the object of security. All the internal doorways are square-headed, and have a bold half-round moulding on the edge. The present external entrance to the kitchen-cellar is an insertion and has incised on its lintel, 1747, the date probably at which all the vertical windows in the front of the house were substituted for the early mullioned windows, of which examples are seen in other parts of the building. The windows in the turret are original, one of two lights with a single mullion, lighting the staircase high in the wall, and another in a small apartment in the top story, a fine window of three lights, with moulded mullions and transoms; both have dripstones moulded in cavetto, with short returns terminating in caps. There is a good three-light window of a similar description in the gable lighting the E. end of the hall. At the back of the house there are remaining two single mullioned and labelled windows, and a number of very small square openings.

This

This building is interesting in so far that it presents an example of late domestic work, of the date of which we are assured, exhibiting a transition character; in the main the place retains many of the features of the pele tower type, and shews the persistence of the desire for strength and security even at this date. This is evinced in the vaulted substructure with its small narrow openings, in the great main apartment on the first floor, and the small winding stair leading to it at one angle from the basement. The entrance stair however, is not now as formerly dark narrow and steep, compressed in the thickness of the wall, but is tolerably wide easy and well lighted, accommodated in a separate tower. This example shews us the slowness and the difficulty there is at all times in shaking off the influence of old usages and style in domestic architecture, and the persistence in perpetuating old types and features, even during the ascendency of new inspirations.

The main doorway in the turret leads into a small entrance lobby, from which there is at right angles, a passage continued along the front of the basement, giving access to the three vaulted chambers. The wide well-staircase leads to the hall and ascends no higher, and it presents a peculiar feature. The stone steps unite to form a newel, and the central column is continued above the upper step of the landing, and is branched out into eight moulded arched ribs, which form the groining to a roof-vault above. At their impost with the pillar and at their terminations these ribs are corbelled out into caps and balls, so as to express a degree of gracefulness in the treatment. This feature of the radiating out of the newel into arched ribs for vaulting occurs not unfrequently in the North, as at Cockermouth Castle for example, and in some of the Northumbrian castles, as in Belsay, Warkworth, and Edlingham. From the landing on the stair one enters the principal apartment or the hall, which exclusive of its recesses, measures 36 ft. by 30 ft. The great chimney fire-

place



Head of Newelstair

Johnby Hall.

place is projected into the room from the centre of the S. front, but its span is now concealed by being built up; on each side of it a vertical window has replaced the old openings; the original mullioned windows on the N. side and E. gable still remain. At the N.E. angle of the apartment, opposite to the main entrance, there is a small wheel-staircase, included in the wall, giving access to the upper story. At this end of the hall there are two stone segmental arches resting on buttresses and on a central pier thrown across the breadth of the room, leaving a lighted corridor or recess behind them. This is the part of the hall known as the "*Screens*," and was doubtless used as a service-room or pantry. A little back-stair in the wheel-form communicates with the cellar and kitchen, by which the dishes and drinkables were brought up and passed by a hatch to the guests seated in the hall.

At the N.W. corner there is another corkscrew stair leading to sleeping rooms on the second story, and at this point there is a passage through to the usual parlour or withdrawing room of the Tudor period. The floor of the hall is paved with squared flagstones set diagonally, and the flat ceiling is supported by three oak moulded beams resting on stone corbels.

The withdrawing room, which adjoins the hall on the same level, presents now nothing peculiar.

The floors on the upper story are laid with oaken boarding, and the space is divided into bedchambers by partitions, but they present nothing worthy of notice.

Now this central block seems to have served the requirements of the family for a period of over forty years, when it was probably found that the accommodation on the basement was insufficient and inconvenient for the requirements of kitchen and offices. Hence we find that one of the last of the Musgraves who resided here set to work to build a low, two-storied wing, as an extension, at the W. side of the courtyard.

This

This range of buildings presents the horizontal, labelled, and bevilled mullioned windows of the period. The basement now partly used as kennels and boiling-house contained the new kitchen. It has a doorway with the obtusely angled recess in the lintel of the Jacobean date, with a moulded square frame over it, of which the panel is gone. The access to the first floor which contains three small rooms, lighted back and front with mullioned windows, is by an outside stair, and over the entrance there is, within a corbelled label, in raised letters :—

W M	C M	1637	*

On one of the outbuildings there is a tablet, with letters in relief :—

W	
W : B	†
1675	

And over the old garden door in graven letters :—

D.H. D.W. 1687.	‡

The arrangements at Johnby Hall exhibit exclusively the style and feeling predominant in the new houses of the northern country gentry during the middle third of Eliza-

* William Musgrave married Catherine Sherburne, daughter of Sir Nicholas Sherburne.—Whelan's *Cumberland*, p. 207.

† William Williams, Steward of Greystoke, married Barbary Halton of Greenthwaite, June 6th, 1666.

‡ These I think are the initials of Dorothy Halton (widow of Miles Halton of Greenthwaite), who died at Johnby Hall in 1719, and her grandaughter Dorothy Williams, who in 1696 married Edward Hasell. THOMAS LEES.

beth's

beth's reign. It was about this time that the new fashion of house-building crept up to the north. In this part of the country there had been for a long period a great gap in the way of house-building; comparatively little had been done for a hundred years to supersede the dark, stinted domestic inconveniences of mediæval structures. In the southern counties under the early Tudor kings, a great impetus had been given towards the erection of mansions and residences in the palatial style, exhibiting the prevailing Italian influences. The domestic peace enjoyed by the country, the enlargement of agriculture, the flourishing state of the trade in wool, and above all the effect of the Reformation in secularizing Church lands enriched the new nobility and gentry who had sprung up, and supplied funds for the great development of domestic architecture. But the old squirearchy of the Lancastrian north continued to suffer too direly from the exhaustion caused by the contentions of the Roses, and the subsequent strifes of border warfare, to be rich enough, even if they had the desire, to substitute for their moated fortalice or grimy pele, a new order of things.

When the impetus of the new style did approach Cumberland and Westmorland in the early period of Elizabeth, a great building epoch was developed, which continued throughout the greater part of her reign, not only as applied to castles and manor-houses, but to the residences of "statesmen" and farmers, and to the habitations of the commonalty both in country and in towns.

As has been observed in the pursuit of the work of this Society, in almost every pele tower, the lord had been engaged about this period in making extensions and ameliorating the condition of his place to the altered requirements of the times. In this immediate neighbourhood Vaux was busy at Catterlen, Hudlestone at Hutton John, Blencow at Blencow, Mawson at Tymparon, and others built new houses on fresh lines, and amongst these was Musgrave of Hayton, who reared his mansion at Johnby.

The

The William Musgrave who built this house was the grandson of Nicolas, the third son of the famous Thomas de Musgrave, of Harcla Castle, who fell on the scaffold, 1464, and whose tomb is in Kirkby Stephen Church. It was by the marriage of this Thomas with Johanna, one of the two daughters and co-heirs of Sir William Stapleton, of Edenhall, that the manor of Edenhall was transferred to the Musgraves, and by reason of which alliance you find the 4th quarter of the shield charged with the arms of Stapleton. The second and third sons of Thomas de Musgrave married two sisters, co-heirs of the name of Colville, but who were nevertheless the direct representatives in the female line of the once great family of Tilliol. With Margaret, the younger sister, came to Nicolas Musgrave her moiety of the Tilliol lands, embracing the heritages of Scaleby, of Hayton near Aspatria, and Johnby. Nicolas Musgrave dying in the year 1500, was succeeded by his son Thomas, who married Elizabeth,* a daughter of the Lord Dacre of Gilsland, and their son William succeeded in 1532. This William Musgrave of Hayton and Johnby, married Isabel, daughter and co-heir of Martindale, the last of the name as lord of Newton in Allerdale, whereby other ancient lands in the west of Cumberland devolvedto the family. William, with whom we are concerned as the builder of this house, died in the year 1597. Subsequently the small demesne and manor of Johnby was apportioned to one of the younger sons of the Musgraves of Hayton, whose heir, female, married Mr. Wyville of the county of York. Johnby was afterwards sold by one of the Wyvilles to Mr. William Williams, who came from the county Glamorgan, and settled at Greystoke; he died in 1679, and lies interred in Greystoke Church.† The family

* In the pedigree of Laton, Tilliol and Musgrave, owners of Hetton, given at p. 215, of vol. i, of Surtee's History of Durham, this Elizabeth is stated to be "base daur. of Lord Dacre, sister to Thomas Dacre of Lanercost." She would also be sister to John Dacre the last Provost of Greystoke and first of the new line of Rectors. THOMAS LEES.

† See monumental tablet in Greystoke Church.

of

of Mr. Williams consisted of three daughters, the eldest of whom, Dorothy, married Sir Edward Hasell of Dalemain and for her portion had Johnby Hall and the neighbouring manor of Thwaite Hall.* The property seems to have continued in the Hasell family for a century until it was sold, in 1783, to Charles, 10th Duke of Norfolk, who then held the Greystoke estates.

You will notice that it is fairly set forth on the tablet over the doorway that Nicolas Musgrave married Margaret Tilliol. The Tilliols or Tilliolfs were a very ancient family, and distinguished in the early history of the county. Their great ancestor, "Richard the Rider," whose name was Tilliol, having received the lordship of Carlisle from Henry I. settled himself at *Richardby* or Rickerby, and had granted to him most of the lands now occupied by the suburbs of the city, Harraby, Etterby, Botchardby, &c. By royal grants and profitable marriages the possessions of the family became augmented in successive generations, including Scaleby, Threapland, Blennerhasset, and many other manors. So much importance had the family attained in the county that, after Edward I. consummated his wise and fruitful scheme of a regular summons of the lesser baronage, as representatives of counties to a great council of the realm at Westminster, we find the first on the list, as the two knights of the shire, in the twenty-ninth year of his reign, the names of John de Wiggeton and Robert de Tilliol. In almost every successive parliament which was called, up to the ninth of Henry V., a period of a hundred years, are to be found the names of Robert, Peter, Richard,

* Thwaite Hall, another old manor house held under the barony of Greystoke, is situated about four miles to the N.W. of this place, in the township of Hutton Roof. The modern renovation of the place, as the residence to a large farm, has destroyed its character as a 16th century building, which it presented formerly. There are still remaining some low horizontal windows with chamfered mullions, and in what was the old hall or dining-place, a fine old chimney-piece, bevelled on the edge, stretching across at one end of it. Sandford in his MS. says:—"This place was anciently called *Hutton Ralf*, a younger branch of Hutton John." From the Huttons it passed by marriage to the Dalstons, who sald the estate about the year 1680 to Mr. Williams of Johnby.

and

and Geoffrey de Tilliol constantly recurring. By the marriage of one of these Tilliols, Piers, in the time of Henry VI. with the heiress of a Mulcastre of Hayton, the possessions near Aspatria were acquired. Some years after this the family of the Tilliols ended in two daughters, which caused a division of the inheritance; one of them married a Colville, which family also, in the second generation, ended again in two daughters, co-heirs, causing a further division of the Tilliol lands. Margaret Colville, with whom went the heritages of Hayton and Johnby, married Nicolas Musgrave, the cadet of Edenhall, to whom we have referred, and whose name appears over the doorway. The grandson William, who erected the tablet, had good reason to advertise his grand-mother as bearing the name of Tilliol, she being really a Colville, seeing that the Colvilles had been enjoined to assume the patronymic of Tilliol in order to maintain their title against claims set up by a collateral male heir. When or how the demesne of Johnby first became vested in the Tilliols I cannot tell, or who the original holder was I fail to discover, any further than in the 30th of Edward I. one Robert de Joneby appears as one of the representatives of the shire in parliament. But it may be that the Robert de Tilliol, who had been chosen by the gentry and freeholders as their representative in 1301, might have been the same individual who was returned as member the following year, as Robert de Joneby, using the title of his estate instead of his surname of Tilliol.

III.—Greenthwaite Hall.

THIS perfect little example of its period is situated about a mile from Greystoke Castle on the edge of the park on its S. side, and the great wall built by the Duke of Norfolk skirts its enclosures. This place was the seat of the ancient

ancient family* of Halton. There was a Halton of Greenthwaite Hall and Manor in the time of Richard II., but I cannot ascertain that any remains exist in the vicinity to indicate the site of their early dwelling place: certainly nothing of an early structure can be found incorporated in the building under view. This little mansion was the last work of the Haltons, about 1650. The original home of the Haltons was in Tynedale, in Northumberland, and the consequence of the family in Cumberland may probably be traced to the famous John, Bishop of Carlisle, in the time of Edward I., who had a long and distinguished episcopal reign, from 1293 to 1324, besides being a busy man in political and secular concerns.

The Haltons continued their residence and interest in Greenthwaite until after their migration into Derbyshire, which occurred in 1678, but finally the Greenthwaite lands were sold to the Duke of Norfolk in 1785, and a considerable area was absorbed into Greystock Park. The cause of the removal of the family came about in this way. Immanuel Halton, in whose time the present hall was built, was born at Greenthwaite, and was educated at the Grammar School of Blencow, and was afterwards a student in Gray's Inn, whence he was called by the then Duke of Norfolk to his service as steward. Halton seems to have been transferred to the charge over the Duke's Derbyshire estate of Winfield. This Winfield property only came to the Howard family in 1616, by the marriage of Lord Arundel with one of the co-heirs of the 7th Earl of Shrewsbury. Finally, Immanuel Halton in 1678 purchased from the Duke of Norfolk the famous old manor house of Winfield, and the Duke's share of the Winfield property.

*The derivation of the place name Greenthwaite is simply from *Greena A.S.* green; we have the old pronunciation of the word retained in the neighbouring pasture farm of Greena Crag. Thwaite (N. thveitr) denotes a piece of ground stubbed free from roots of trees, and separated. The suffix Thwaite is common in Cumberland and Westmorland, and is very frequent in Greystoke parish, and adjoining parts, as in Thackthwaite, Brackenthwaite, Southwaite, Smathwaite, Micklethwaite, Calthwaite, &c.

Immanuel

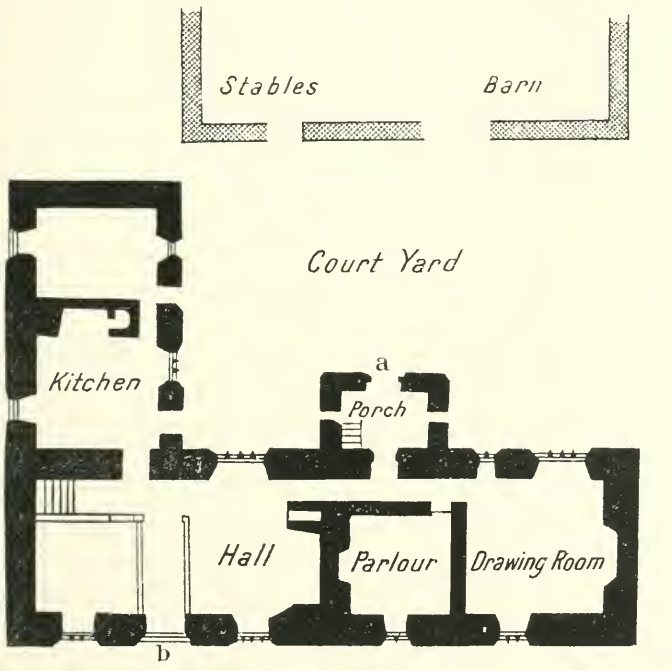
Immanuel Halton died at Winfield in 1699; it is said that "the last years of his life were spent in the studies of music and mathematics, in which noble sciences he attained great perfection."* In the meantime the family still retained possession of Greenthwaite Hall until the representative descendant, Wingfield Halton, Esq., of Winfield Manor, in 1785, sold to the Duke of Norfolk the old ancestral Cumberland home.

We have presented to us here an edifice which has been erected all at one time, in which the lines follow an original design, and which, at the present time, is really very much the same as when it was first built. It is on the L shaped plan. An oblong block of two stories presents a frontage to the S. of 82 ft., with a small wing attached to the W. side, which with a range of farm buildings to the N., inclose three sides of a quadrangular courtyard. Within this court is the main entrance through a porch which has been projected 9 ft. from the main wall, at about the centre of the building, and carried up rather higher than the building itself. The plan and elevation present a design and features which prevailed long anterior to the date of 1650, which is given on various parts of the edifice. In fact, the whole structure exhibits a thorough Elizabethan feeling, and some of the details are well worth examination, particularly the carved stone horizontal panels over the windows, which may be regarded as a survival of a favourite form of Tudor ornamentation into the late Jacobean period. The principal windows are low, wide, horizontal openings, under a dripstone, divided by one, two, or three chamfered mullions. Above the line of the windows both of the ground and first floor,

* Some of his mathematical treatises are printed in the Appendix of Foster's Mathematical Miscellanies, and an "Account of the Eclipse of the Sun observed at Winfield," in Phil. Trans. for 1676. In the parish church of Winfield there are some monuments to the Halton family. Immanuel Halton, who died in 1699, married Mary daughter of Mr. John Newton of Oakerthorpe; Immanuel Halton Esq. 1784: Miles Halton M.A. 1792.—Lyson's Derbyshire, p. 292.

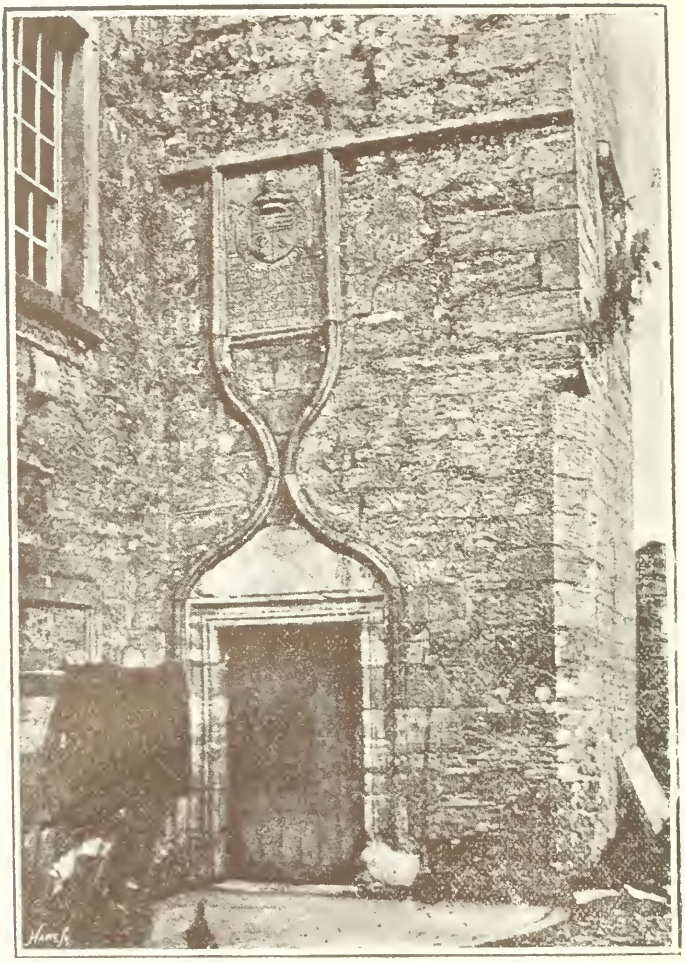
there

a. *Doorway Coat of Arms.*
b. *Window converted into door*



GROUND PLAN.

GREENTHWAITE HALL
Greystoke.



GREENTHWAITE HALL.

there is projected along the face of the building a horizontal string course, boldly rounded on the upper surface and coved beneath. Over the large window in the porch tower, and over two of the principal windows on the ground floor, above the lines of the string course there is extended a square frame or hood moulding so as to inclose a long horizontal panel containing ornamental carvings. The patterns wrought on these slabs are all different. One has the design so well known in Elizabethan wood-work, the alternating circle and lozenge, connected by a short, straight band. In the panel over the window in the tower the space is divided into two stages of six square compartments. In the upper line these are pierced into circles, with bosses in the centre, variously treated, and below the square spaces are filled in with a variety of foliage. All this embellishment shews a laudable pride in the builder, Miles, the predecessor of Immanuel Halton, in the consummation of his edifice, neither did he neglect to follow the prevailing custom of the age of setting up, over the entrance, his coat of arms and a sententious legend. The main doorway has bevelled jambs, and bears a heavy square-headed lintel stone recessed to the breadth of the chamfer, on which appears, in raised Roman capitals, the following sentence :—

PERIGRINOS HIC NOS	H
REPVTAMVS . 1650	M D

*

"*Here* (on *earth*) *we reckon ourselves pilgrims.*"

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*These are the initials and arms of Miles Halton and his wife Dorothy, daughter of — Wybergh of Clifton. Miles was born in 1599, was Sheriff of Cumberland, and died in 1652. A cross to his memory is placed in the middle of the S. aisle of the Parish Church. Dorothy seems to have been a strong-minded woman, and a quaint story has been handed down by popular tradition concerning her—how she enticed the red deer from Greystoke Park (then unen-

At

At one side there is a small shield with a lion rampant H gardant, and on the other the initials M D, and the date, 1650.

Immediately above this, ten years later, there was set up another tablet bearing the full achievement, a shield, with the arms of Halton, party per pale, a lion rampant, and three bars between three mullets, two and one. The crest:—a demi-lion holding a spear, on a helmet with wreath, and mantlings. At the top of the tablet stands out the date 1660; the carving is well executed, and in good preservation, except the motto on the scroll, which has weathered off.

The mason work throughout is of very good character, being of the fine-grained Greystoke sandstone, in well-laid courses of rubble, with chiselled ashlar at the openings.

The interior of the porch forms the vestibule to the house; it is well lighted by a double mullioned window on a level with the first floor, and by a little square look-out on each side near the door. Originally, it contained the principal staircase of the mansion giving access to the upper floor; the stair is now gone, but the rising of a straight flight of steps may be noted on the right hand wall.

On the ground floor the main block contained the hall, a small parlour, and the withdrawing room. The dimen-

closed) on to her own land by scattering of green oats, and then shot them with a cross-bow for food for her domestics, who in consequence protested against being fed on what they called "black mutton" for more than four days in the week. The story goes on to say how she was summoned at the Assizes at Cockermouth, to answer for her poaching proclivities. When she entered the court the counsel for the prosecution, one of the well-known Fletcher family, exclaimed, "Here comes Madam Halton with her traps and her gins!" and she promptly replied, "There sits Counsellor Fletcher with his packs and his pins," alluding sarcastically to the commercial pursuits by which the Fletchers had risen to eminence. How the case ended is not related.

Miles and Dorothy Halton had a numerous offspring, five sons and five daughters. An interesting article on the family will be found in "The Reliquary, October, 1864," contributed by C. H. & Thompson Cooper, the Historians of Cambridge.—THOMAS LEES.

sions

sions of the hall in its original state were 29 ft. 9 in. by 18 ft. 6 in ; it was well lighted by three low mullioned win lows to the S., and one with a 6 ft. 6 in. aperture towards the courtyard. The great width and depth of the chimney block in this room is remarkable ; the great fireplace opening embraced by a segmental arch of 10 ft. 8 in. span, and the reception in the thickness of the wall of a great locker or cupboard. But modern innovations have entirely destroyed the proportions and attributes of the apartment, for the three-mullioned window on the S. front has been cut to afford an entrance door on that aspect, and the partitioned passage from it traverses the breadth of the hall.

Contiguous to the hall there is a little room, 13 ft. by 13 ft.—the lord's little parlour or private room, and beyond, at the E. end of the block, there is an apartment, 18 ft. 6 in. by 15 ft. 6 in., which is now used as a dairy. This was the withdrawing room of the old mansion: it is well lighted back and front by mullioned windows, and is furnished with a Tudor fireplace. The short wing on the W. aspect, which forms the limb of the ⌊ on the plan, is occupied by the kitchen and its appurtenances, from which there is a communication with the low end of the hall ; at this point there is a corkscrew stair for service to the apartments on the next story. On the upper floor there is a long passage partitioned off on the N. side, giving access to the bedrooms, five in number, very much as in a modern house ; over the wing there are dormitories for the domestics.

At the top of the porch tower there is an additional story containing a little square chamber, with a single mullioned light into the courtyard, in which may be noted a square ambry in the wall on the E. side. In the porch-tower houses of the time of Queen Elizabeth the room thus situated was usually dedicated to the use of a chapel ; we have seen it at Hornby Hall and other places ; there is nothing however here to indicate devotional purposes.

About

About this period, and indeed for a hundred years before, in this part of the country, in making a floor in the upper stories, instead of laying down naked boarding on the joists it was a very common practice to use laths, and to cover them with a layer of alabaster, or hall-plaster, as it is called in the north. You may see this application of plaster adopted in the flooring of the passages and rooms in the upper part of this house. The practice is a local one, and may have originated in the facility of procuring the material, as numerous deposits and pockets of native alabaster or gypsum occur in the Eden valley not very far off, where the mineral has been worked from distant times.

IV.—Greystoke Mid-Farm.

This is a quaint little mansion situated at Greystokehead on the road leading to Greenthwaite Hall. This residence seems in some way to have been connected with the Halton family, whether as a dower house or not I cannot tell; it is very characteristic of the period at which it was built, 1649, and is worthy of notice on account of the arms over the doorway. It consists of a long low single tenement of two floors, with a wing projected from the W. side giving the L plan. The entrance is on the N. side facing the road, at the re-entering angle from a little court formed by the wing, through a square-headed widely chamfered doorway. Over the door there is imposed a very ornate and well-carved heraldic tablet on a stone which is supported by two spirally fluted columns with Ionic volutes on the capitals, and carrying a classic cornice. The shield is surrounded with the full ornaments of mantling, wreath, esquire's helmet, and scroll, and bears on a bend three escallops with an annulet for difference, (*New Layton of Dalemain*), impaling a fesse between six cross crosslets fitchy

fitchy (*old Layton*). Crest:—A lion's head gorged with a collar, charged with three bezants. The scroll below the shield is so much weathered that the motto is effaced, but it has been given by Jefferson as: "*Tam pace quam bello.*"* On the upper part of the tablet is the date 1649.

The door enters directly into the old dining place or hall, originally 18 ft. by 16 ft. 8 in., but the space is now split by a partition. This constituted the living room of the residence, and it is noticeable chiefly as containing a large fireplace recess, with a little square-headed look-out in the ingle-nook, with an elliptic chimney arch of 9 ft. span with a bold round and hollow moulding. It is well lighted on both sides with low horizontal windows with moulded mullions, one being high in the wall. As usual, adjoining there is a parlour of very small dimensions; the wing would contain the kitchen, and the upper floor would be devoted to bedrooms. There are heavy moulded dripstones to all the windows. The place has been converted into two cottage houses.

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* Jefferson's Leath Ward, p. 369.

ART. VII.—*Gold Armlet found in Westmorland.*

BY ELLEN K. WARE.

Read at Penrith, July 4th, 1889.

THE gold bracelet I exhibit was found early in 1889 by a labourer, on a piece of moorland in or near Winton, a hamlet of Kirkby Stephen. It was lying on a ledge of rock covered with soil. The ends seem at sometime to have been cut or broken off. It weighs 1 oz. 4 dwts. 6 gr. It appears to be part of an armlet of the ancient British or prehistoric period, certainly anterior to the Roman Invasion. The armlet, of which is a fragment, probably had five or six twists and possibly a hook at either end. Several have been found in various parts of England, and Canon Greenwell has a very fine one in his collection. This armlet was probably made by twisting together two hollowed-out pieces of gold, having a section of the shape of a cross. It might have been used for bullion, and this may account for its being chopped up.

NOTE.—The armlet was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries of London, on February 29, 1889, when Chancellor Ferguson made the following remarks :—*

I have the honour to exhibit a gold armlet which was found recently upon the Higher Winton Common, just under the fell of that name, which is situated near the town of Kirkby Stephen, in the county of Westmorland. The armlet was found three feet below the surface of the ground in a cleft of the rock, and had apparently been lost and fallen into the situation in which it was found ; there was no trace of box or wrapper, nor was anything else found with it. This therefore, is a case not of *treasure trove*, but of *bona vacantia*, a lost article, which belongs to the finder and to no one else.†

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* *See Proc. S.A.* 2nd Series, vol. xii., pp. 322-323.

† *See* Presidential Address by John Evans, P.S.A., St. George's Day, 1887, *Proc. S.A.* 2nd Series, vol. xi., pp. 380-381.

The

The armlet is of fine gold, and weighs 1 oz. 4 dwts; it has been made by twisting into a spiral a rod of gold, $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, whose section is a quatrefoil with flattened lobes, measuring something under a quarter of an inch in extreme diameter: the spiral so formed measures about $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, and has been bent into a rough circle of about $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches in diameter; one of the ends is rough, as if the rod had been broken off from a longer rod; the other end seems to have been recently cut with a knife, probably by the labourer who found it.* There is no provision for clasping together the ends of the armlet, and it has been intended to retain its position, when worn, by its elasticity.

It thus differs from the armlets formed by twisting into a spiral a flat strip of gold or a square or prismatic rod of that metal, or by twisting together three or four rods or wires. I have not been able to find a similar armlet in the books and should be glad to know of one. The armlets formed of wires twisted together are generally assigned to a later period than the plain ones with expanding ends. The present instance is I suggest, with hesitation, Romano-British. The place where it was found is about three miles from the great Roman camp at Brough-under-Stainmore (*Verteræ*).

* Dr. Evans, P.S.A., said it was evident from the rough ends that the armlet had been cut from the middle of a large torque.

Art. VIII.—*Recent Roman Discoveries*, 1889.

By the President.

Communicated at Penrith, July 4th, 1889.

I AGAIN regret that I have no new Roman inscriptions to bring under your notice: the objects I have to bring have already been brought by me under the notice of the Society of Antiquaries of London in performancee of my duty as one of their officials.

I.

I have the honour to exhibit and present photographs of a corbel stone, on which is carved a nondescript face issuing out of a circular back plate. The dimensions of the stone are:—On the flat table on the top, 18 by 6½ inches; the depth is 13 inches on one side, by somewhat less on the other, the under surface not being dressed square, like the table at the top. The distance of the back of the back plate from the end of the stone is 12½ inches, the length which would be built into the wall in which the stone was used, leaving 5½ inches projecting, or, allowing for the projection of the face beyond the back plate, about 7 inches projecting. The sinister side of the back plate has been worn away or otherwise destroyed. The diameter of the back plate has been about 9 inches. This corbel stone was found in excavations for buildings immediately contiguous to the site of the new markets at Carlisle, in made soil full of fragments of Roman pottery, and at a depth of 9 feet. Among the fragments was a very charming little Roman lamp, presently to be mentioned. The site of these new markets and the vicinity have for long been productive of Roman relics, and several are enumerated in the Transactions of this Society, and elsewhere.* I mention these facts because a difference of opinion exists as to whether this figure is Roman or not, and the circumstances surrounding the find may, therefore, have to be taken into account. One eminent authority on Roman matters writes to me:—

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* Jefferson's *History and Antiquities of Carlisle*, p. 326; *Proc. S.A.* 2d S. vol. xii., pp. 111-113, 168, 423-425. *Transactions this Society*, vol. x., pp. 275-277.

Of

CORBEL STONE FOUND NEAR THE NEW MARKETS, CARLISLE.

Of course the abortion is early mediæval; an example of the low, inartistic mind of the time, though symbolists may imagine it a type of something.

But an eminent authority on mediæval matters writes to me:—

I should say the corbel is Roman. I never saw a mediæval one with the circular back plate, and I think it is altogether too inartistic for early mediæval work, and decorated and perpendicular work would certainly have something of the decorated or perpendicular character which would have marked it. It is as unlikely to be mediæval as the stone from Chester with the two figures about which Thompson Watkin made such a strange blunder. I do not think the hair treatment alone is sufficient to prove one way or the other. It is the common rude way of showing it at all times. I should call the thing Roman, less from the presence of nothing distinctly cultivated Roman about it, than from the absence of anything mediæval.

This object has evidently been meant to be viewed from below and from a distance, and the suggestion has been made that it is intended to represent a negro, and that the two holes are his nostrils. I rather incline to think that it represents an actor wearing a comic mask.

II.

I have also the honour of exhibiting the lamp I have mentioned, on which is the maker's stamp of

IECIDI.

Mr. C. Roach Smith informs me he has met with the following potters' marks:—

IECIDE, IECIDI, IEGIDI and L.IEGIDI;

all probably one and the same.

ART. IX.—*Potters' Marks on Roman Pottery found in Carlisle.*

BY THE PRESIDENT.

POTTERS' marks from Roman pottery ware found in Carlisle, and now in the collections of Mr. R. Ferguson, F.S.A., Morton, and Mr. Fisher, Bank Street, and in the Carlisle Museum. Those marked thus (*) are in Mr. Wright's list (*The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, edition of 1875). Those marked (†) have been found recently on the site of the New Markets now being erected at Carlisle.

On *Samian ware* in the collection of Mr. R. Ferguson, F.S.A., of Morton, Carlisle:—

*ADVOCISI	*SATVRNNI OF	MASCNIOS
*ALBVCI	*SENILA	MINAISINNIVS
*BRICCI . M	*TAVRICI	MOGODII M
*BVRDO	*VIIRI	OMOIMO?
FORTIS (on lamp)	OF FAB	SCOTNI
*MOXIVS	*FVS (on lamp)	VAKEDVKATI
*OF RICIMI	*DOIIC or DOLIC	XIIXII
*OF PATRIC	DORCEVS F	VATICONIS M
*RVFFI	MAMMI	(scratched)

On *Roman ware* (other than Samian) in the collection of Mr. R. Ferguson, F.S.A.:—

On amphore—	On mortarium—	On a fragment of
DOM F	DOCIE	white ware—PIRV

On *Samian ware* in the collection of Mr. Fisher, Bank Street, Carlisle:—

*CRACVNA . F	*CELTAS · FC	PANI · L · P
MACCALI M	*TITVRONIS . O	

On an *amphora* in collection of Mr. Fisher, Bank Street, Carlisle:—

A · R · A

On

On *Samian ware* in the Museum, Carlisle :—

SAXAMI · M (2)
*CAMPANI . M
BAECOSHEF?
ɑECKIAR · F
*MAIOR · F
ANVNI · M
*A / V / . M
(*q*. same as above)
MION
*MANV
CAVONI . M

†* LITTER
†* BIGA · FEC
†* ADVOCISCI
(very large on the side)
†* CRVCVRO
† XIIIXIII
(scratched on bottom)
† CLOSABINIA
† / / / NI · M
(? ANVNI · M · *ante*)
† IOCL · MS

† CAMVII /
†* MARCELLIVS
† / IIANI . M
† / / II · M
† / AL FECIT
† GLANCIV · M
† AIAIV?
†* SECVNDVS . F
†* SILVIIRI · OF
†* / / BI . MA

On *amphoræ* in the Museum, Carlisle :—

C . TYC | P · L · R

On *mortaria* in the Museum, Carlisle :—

† MRI . E / MRI . E

† AV . TM / MA

On lamp from New Markets :—

† IECIDI

The following potters' marks are from some red ware recently (in 1889) found in Collier Lane, Carlisle :—

*C · ALAVA . F
*DIVIX . F
*PRISCINI · M
MAGI · OF
*MOXSI · M
*LVCANI · M
CINTVS · CA
*OF · CRESI
/ MOR . M
/ ERCA
/ ENECIIM

ART. X.—*The Siege of Carlisle in* 1644-5. *General Leslie's Works.* By the WORSHIPFUL CHANCELLOR FERGUSON, F.S.A., President of the Society.

Read at Penrith, July 4th, 1889.*

THE first beginning of "The Troubles," as the Great Civil War is often called by local writers, may in Cumberland be reckoned from a proclamation made by Charles I. on the 29th of January 1638, which ordered all the nobility and gentry of Cumberland and other northern counties, except those in attendance on his majesty, or in his service, to repair on or before the 1st March to their several houses and lands, where they were required to be in readiness, well armed and provided, for the defence and safeguard of that part of the kingdom. In the following year a garrison of 500 men was thrown into Carlisle: it consisted of an Irish regiment under the command of Sir Francis Willoughby. Sir Nicholas Byron was appointed governor of the castle, city and citydell of Carlisle, with pay at the rate of £3 a day and power to proclaim martial law and to make all the inhabitants and citizens take up arms. The accounts of the Chamberlains of Carlisle for this date show that the inhabitants and citizens were preparing to defend themselves; they formed a volunteer company and took to drilling and hired Corporal Brown's boy as drummer: the "cities muskets & harness" were entrusted to Thomas Wilson, spurrier, and Robert Rigge for repairs; a "barrel covered with leather to carry gunpowder in for exercisenge" was purchased: and the

* This paper was originally given in a more much extended and popular form in a lecture at Carlisle, as an Account of the Siege. Before this Society it has been reduced to an attempt to fix the positions of the "Works" raised by General Leslie.

city

city drum was repaired and new drumsticks purchased. A guard house was provided for the use of the garrison by hiring from Randell Sewell his shop in the Glover's Row at a rent of 2/- a week. A new gate was hung at Botchergate (afterwards the English gate) and all three gates had new locks which cost £1 14s. £1 12s. was paid by the Chamberlains for 16 pounds of gunpowder. Then 40 pound weight of gunpowder, made up in papers (cartridges) cost £4. Somewhat later the investments in powder were very large, as the following note shows :—

The 8th of October, 1640.	A note what powder is brought in and by whome.
Of Will. Atkinson	120 12 0
Of Edward James	010 01 0
Of Joseph Jefferson	024 02 4
Of John Thomlinson	080 08 0
Of John Glaisters	060 06 0
Of Edmund Dalton	050 05 0

An expenditure of over £345 in powder. Large numbers of hacks and picks were also made and shafted.

When Charles I. went to Berwick-on-Tweed the trained bands of Cumberland and Westmorland, under Sir Philip Musgrave marched into Carlisle, and 9s. 6d. was spent by the corporation for "wine bestowed on baronet Musgrave." The following proclamations about the trained bands have been kindly copied by the Rev. W. F. Gilbanks, the rector of Great Orton, from originals in the parish chest at Holme Cultram :—

Trusty and wellbeloved we great you well, being in our own reall persons thus far advanced towards the frontyres of this kingdom to repell these rebells of our Kingdom of Scotland who have now invaded us and our subjects. And finding in our good people of this countye of York great readyness and resolution for the which to attend and march along with us with all the trained bands and forces therein towards the Borders, and not doubting of like readyness in our good people

people of that countye if we may with the more vigour and strength both secure them and you and all our loving subjects in their persons and estates from further invasion we have herewith sentt our well-beloved servante Sir Richd. Græyme willing and requireing you and every of yours immediately upon the receipte hereof not only to drawe togeither into a body all the trained bands both horse and foote within that countye, but alsoe to raise and make what other forces you possibely can for the secureing and defence of all the passes within the said countye wherein ye are to observe upon all occasions such orders and directions as you shall receive from us, or the cheife Commander of our army heerof you are not to faile as you tender our service and your own safitye and will answer the contrary att your perills given under our hand signed att our Cittie of York att our Manor and Courte the 24 Aug. in the xvi. of our raigne 1640. To our trusty and wellbeloved the deputye Leiutents and Justices of peace within our County of Cumberland.

In pursuance of this the deputy lieutenants and justices issued the following:—

Carlile, 28 Aug. 1640.

Orders agreed upon by the Consente of the deputye Leiuetenants of the Countye of Cumberland to be observed not only by the trayned bands but by all those that are able to beare armes for the defence of the same upon all allarums or invasion of it eveneing.

The place of Rendezvous for the trayned bands both of horse and foote are appointed at Carlisle, whither upon all occasions they are commanded with all possible speede to repaire, each man being to bring with him provisions of victualls for five dayes.

The place of Rendezvous for the inhabitants of the County able to beare armes in tyme of allarum which shall be given notice of by burneinge of Beacons or publique notice taken of Invasion of the Enemye is appointed to be att the severall houses of the severall Lords of the Manor and Landlords videlicet: the Tents of the Earle of Northumberland Lord Generall att Cockermouth the Earle Marshall for the Barrony of Burgh att Rocliffe, those of the barrony of Graystocke att Graystocke Castle those of the Barrony of Gilsland att Noward Castle and soe respectively all Tenants to the place of their Landlords houses. Each man to bring with him vij days provision and every man his Knapsacke with him and in the meane tyme to provide themselves with armes for the defence of themselves wifes children and countrye.

This

This to be published in every markett Towne and parish Church after prayers after the readinge of the King's letter.

Francis Howard
Pa. Curwen
Geo. Dalston
Henry Fletcher
Wm. Pennington

The danger, however, passed away.

In October 1641 the garrison of Carlisle was disbanded in pursuance of the treaty with Scotland, but the arms and munitions of war were carefully stowed away in the Fratry, the keys of which appear to have been in the custody of the Mayor of Carlisle.

How long it was before Carlisle again received a garrison it is difficult to say: not more than a few months. The great Civil War actually commenced in 1642. Charles I. raised his standard at Nottingham on the 23rd of August; and Edgehill was fought on Oct. 23. For long the tide of battle rolled away from Carlisle, and many persons of distinction sought refuge in it from the perils of war. The Earl of Nithsdale was forced to fly from his castle of Caerlaverock, and he and his connection, Lord Harries, with their families took up their abode in Carlisle: several clergymen also came.

An attempt was made in 1643 to seize Carlisle for the Parliament. The prime movers were Sir Wilfred Lawson and some of the Barwises of Langrigg. They brought in Sir William Armyne, who was active on the Parliamentary side, and with the assistance of persons named Craister, Studholme, Cholmley, and Langhorne faced Carlisle with what Tullie, the historian of the siege, calls a "Rascall route". However, the gentry of the county, their tenants and neighbours, and the militia defeated these persons and their following, and drove them to Abbey-holme, but there let them go, on promise of keeping quiet.

The

The battle of Marston Moor was fought on July 1, 1644. York surrendered to the Parliamentary forces on the 16th of that month, and Sir Thomas Glenham, Governor of York, and commander-in-chief in the North for the King, took refuge in Cumberland, with some broken troops.

Michael Studholme, one of the persons concerned in the attempt on Carlisle in 1643, still cherished designs upon Carlisle: through Richard Barwise, the Roundhead M.P. for Carlisle, he endeavoured to induce General David Leslie to march with his cavalry into Cumberland. Accordingly, Leslie with 800 horse marched into that county from Newcastle. He expected to meet with no opposition, but when he got to Salkeld and was about to ford the Eden, he found he was opposed by horse and foot regiments raised by the local gentlemen, with Sir Philip Musgrave, Sir Henry Bellingham, and Sir Henry Fletcher at their head. Leslie was for retiring to Newcastle, but Barwise, not the M.P., but Barwise of Ilekirk, known as the great Barwise, rode into the river, whereon Leslie and the horse followed, and the whole of the opposing force promptly ran off as fast as they could to Carlisle, into which place Leslie chased them: he drew up his horse in full view of the city on St. Nicholas Hill, near the gallows: Tullie says, "a place more proper for them he could not have chosen."* Some skirmishing took place between them and the garrison on the east side of Carlisle, and next day Leslie went off to Newcastle, though, had he stayed, he might have reduced Carlisle in a very short time, as it was not yet provisioned. Scandal says he did this on purpose: he wished to give the Royalists time to provision it, that the siege might be longer, and so he and his men might draw pay for a longer

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* *A Narrative of the Siege of Carlisle in* 1644 *and* 1645: *by Isaac Tullie: Now first printed from a MS. in the British Museum: Carlisle, Samuel Jefferson*, 1840. This valuable tract, one of the series of ten local tracts known as "Jefferson's Carlisle Tracts," is now very scarce, and would bear reprinting. For Isaac Tullie, see note at end of this paper.

period.

period. Leslie had served under Gustavus Adolphus, and had a good deal of the Dugald Dalgetty about him.

Steps were at once taken by Sir Thomas Glenham to put Carlisle in readiness to stand a siege : the Cumberland troops were disbanded, there being, after their exploits at Salkeld, some doubt about their fidelity to the Royal cause : the sum of £463 10s. was subscribed for the purposes of the siege by the Royalist gentry and clergy of the county : vast quantities of provisions were purchased, which were stowed in the Fratry, and in the Citadels : the arms were furbished up again, and drums, drum-heads, and drumsticks appear in the Chamberlains' account as being purchased. In September a warrant was issued from the President and Council of War to the Corporation, directing them to raise £300 for the purposes of the war : they only raised £150, repayment of which, as well as of a sum of £400 raised afterwards, was guaranteed by the bonds of several local county gentlemen : as these bonds are to this day in the possession of the Corporation it seems probable they were never paid off.* Last entry, or almost last, in the Chamberlains' accounts, before they disappear in the turmoil of the siege, is :—

> Pd. Thomas Blaymire for the wood and workmanship of the Gibbet ..... o 6 00

Tullie's "Narrative"† begins about this point, and little information exists as to the siege, except what he gives, but his Narrative is too long for reproduction in these pages.

Newcastle having surrendered, General David Leslie, with 4,000 horse and foot, returned to Carlisle and laid siege to the town. He established his head-quarters at

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* *See* Carlisle during the Siege of 1644-5. By W. Nanson. These Transactions, vol. vii., pp. 48.

† *Ante*, p. n.

Dalston Hall, and he raised "works," as Tullie calls them, so as to block the roads. These works, four in number, were:--one near the village of Newtown, a second at Stanwix under Lord Kirkcudbright, a third, under Colonel Chomley near the Gallows on Harriby Hill, and a fourth under Colonel Lawson near Botcherby.* What these "works" were it is not possible to ascertain, as Tullie gives no information: probably palisadings, or earthworks, calculated to hold parties of from 60 to 100 horse: these were relieved every twenty-four hours by fresh parties of their comrades, who must have been quartered in the villages round Carlisle. The "work" at Stanwix was in the churchyard,† and mounted three small guns: it does not appear that the other "works" had guns. With this paper a skeleton map is given of the country round Carlisle: it shows the city, the three rivers which almost surround it, the dam-courses, the main roads and some of the villages around: the positions of General Leslie's works are marked by large red circles. Their strategic importance is easily seen by reference to the skeleton map: the work in Stanwix churchyard would close all ingress and egress to and from Carlisle on the north: the work at Newton, and the headquarters at Dalston Hall would close the western roads: that on Gallows Hill would block the road to the south, while the work at Botcherby would block the eastern roads. The Eden was fordable by waths at Rickerby and Etterby: thus communication could be kept up between Leslie's works at Botcherby and Stanwix, and Stanwix and Newton. The other rivers, Caldew and Petteril, would be fordable in several places.

* Tullie does not expressly state where this fourth work was, but incidently it appears that it was at Botcherby.

† "STANWIX. The churchyard has no other fence than a mud hedge, which is in miserable plight. From hence the Besiegers played their ordnance upon the City of Carlisle in 1645. Then was the Vicar's Mansion House demolished." Bishop Nicolson's *Visitation*, &c., in 1703, p. 105.

These

CARLISLE, 1644-5.

A Ford
Stanwix
B
C
Etterby Ford
C
The Swifts Hill
Botcherby
B
Calcoats
C
Newton
B
The Dam
C
D
C
Fusehill
River Petteril
River Caldew
Little Caldew
Murrell Hill
C
B
Gallows Hill
Harraby Bridge

These works left a great deal of grazing ground accessible to the garrison and inhabitants, but Leslie seems to have been in no hurry over the siege: he never assaulted the walls, but was simply content to abide his time, until the besieged should have finished their store of provisions. The siege operations mainly consisted in efforts on behalf of the Scots to surprise the cattle and horses of the Royalist garrison when grazing outside the city, while the garrison endeavoured protect them, to procure more by sallies into the country and to sleight (or destroy)the various works by which Leslie from time to time contracted the grazing ground. It must be kept in mind that in 1644 the country far and wide around Carlisle was open common and moor land. Lord George Murray in 1745 describes the country between Penrith and Carlisle as " mostly an open country, full of commons." To the north of Carlisle the country was an almost impenetrable morass, traversible by paths known only to mosstroopers, smugglers, and pedlars, while Greymoor Hill and Blackford well deserved their names; as did Blackhill or Bleckell Moor, southwards. West of Carlisle Cummersdale Moor began at Clemson's Gate about the end of Shaddongate, and continued to Dalston. The road to Wigton was nearly all through open moor: eastwards Crosby and Warwick Moors covered large areas. Cavalry could thus move about with much more freedom than in these days of hedges and inclosures.

The garrison of Carlisle consisted of 700 men, including townsmen in arms. Tullie also says it included 200 (!) reformadoes, or officers whom Cromwell and Lord Fairfax had discharged when they remodelled the army: some of them men of "great prudence and pronenesse in arms." So soon as Leslie had taken up his quarters at Dalston Hall a party of these reformadoes sallied out to surprise him there, but being all officers they could not agree upon a leader, and were put to rout and several of them killed.

To

To Tullie's pages our readers must refer to for the history of the siege and the hardships endured by the garrison. It went on leisurely, with no great expenditure of life.* In April Leslie considered the time had come for him to contract his lines round the city: accordingly he established a work at Etterby, which commanded the wath there over Eden: by this wath the garrison had in a sally succeeded in carrying off a large number of cattle from Cargoholmes: an exploit the new work prevented them from repeating. Another new work was made on the top of Catcoats Bank, which commanded the Willowholme, and rendered it useless to the garrison as a grazing ground. The cattle were then grazed south of the citadels, but Leslie put a stop to this by raising a work or fort at Fusehill. The Swifts were then resorted to: on the 28th or 29th the besiegers made a determined attempt to get the cattle grazed there: at a signal from Stanwix 800 Scotch horse from Stanwix, Rickerby, Botcherby, and St. Nicholas galloped down on the cattle as hard as they could. Luckily, Glenham had observed some sign of preparation at Stanwix, and had ordered the cattle guard to move their charge close to the town, so that they succeeded in bringing them in, but with a loss of 6 cows and 15 horses, and a couple of men killed and others wounded.

The month of May was similarly occupied with sallies and skirmishes into whose details we cannot go. Leslie continued to contract his lines round the doomed city: and in addition to his four original works or forts at Stanwix, Newtown, Gallows Hill, and Botcherby, and the small ones at Etterby, Catcoats, and Fusehill, he raised

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* One or two points are worth notice—the abundance of beer and the way every one got drunk; the apparition of Captain Forrester's ghost at the head of a ghostly army of horse and foot; and the torture of two spies on the rack. The siege pieces struck during the siege are engraved and described, these Transactions, vol. vii., pp. 48-54.

others

others at Murrell Hill, on the Swifts,* and one opposite the Sally Port, see the map. He also cut the dam-courses so as to stop the mills. This last work Glenham demolished after a tremendous fight: he erected one himself, (map) and restored the dam-courses.

Buoyed up by false hopes of relief the garrison managed to hold out, amid terrible suffering to the wretched inhabitants, until June 25th, when they surrendered upon honourable terms, which are printed in most of the local histories.

ISAAC TULLIE.

Isaac Tullie, the historian of the siege, was son of George Tullie of Carlisle, who is described in 1619 in several deeds in possession of the Corporation of Carlisle, as "Gent". He married at Crosthwaite on April 22 "Mrs. Thomazine Heckstetter of Keswick", and their son Timothy was baptised there on March 20th, 1614.† The titles "Gent." and "Mrs." shew that both bride and bridegroom were persons of position. She is mentioned as a widow in a deed of 1646 in possession of the Corporation.

Isaac was probably a grandson of Thomas Tullie of Blindcrake, in the parish of Isell, some ten miles from Keswick, whose will we give.

In Dei noie Amn the 4 daye of September ano Christi remtionis 1567 I Thomas Tullie of Blindcraick w'hin the pochinge of Isell syck in bodye but neverthelesse whoyll and of pfecte remembrance do maik contribute & set forth this my pnte Testament whearin ys coteyned my last will in maner & forme followyd ffirst I gyve & bequeth my sowll to Almightye God my creatr and Redeemer and my bodye to be Inhumated & buryed wt'hin the church yarde of Isell wth all my mortuaryes and deutyes to be paid according to the use of the pochinge Itm to my Dawghter Mrgrett one black cowe wth a calve and one meare & two yewes Itm I gyve to Mrs. Jane Watsone one . . two bushells of oytts one bushell of berye(?)

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* The following letter, which I received a day or two after lecturing in Carlisle, on "The Siege of 1644-5," is interesting, but I have not been able to identify the particular furrow.

March 21, 1888.

DEAR SIR,—Excuse me. I was sorry I did not see you; perhaps the information I give is already known to you, viz: On the Swifts, near the footpath across the same, may be seen a deeper furrow than others—this was where the besiegers of the city made a trench to take the citadel. I had it from one Millbourn, a tailor, who had it from his grandmother. . . . . He died in London some 10 years ago.—Yours respectfully,

JOHN FISHER.

†Crosthwaite Parish Registers, cited in these Transactions, vol. ii., pp. 231, 232.

and iiij yeards of whitclothe and one coytand one lynning sheet. The . . . of my goods moveable & Immoveable my Debts payed my legaces fulfilled & funeealls discharged I gyve to my wife and my daughter Mgareth whome I do order and makye my lawful executrices of all my goods not bequethed Supvisoares hereof Mr. Leigh my Mr. Peter Wynder of Lorton who I beseech go ad . . . my said wife & dowghter thes being witnesses John Swynborne Ric . . . . . ar, & others. Pme.

Endorsed Testament et Inventor Thomi Tullie de Isell pbatum apud Wigton second die Menses Octbris Ao dm 1569.

Thomasine Heckstetter was a member of the Dutch or German family of miners of that name, who settled in the parish of Crosthwaite in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

The following notices of Isaac Tullie are interesting:—

Low Sunday Quarter 19th day of Aprill 1651.

Isaac Tullye ye sonne of George Tullye of ye Citty of Carlile Gentleman, late Apprentyce to Mr. John Langhorne is admitted a brother of this trade by ye general consent of this occupation and has payd vi viijd for his entrie.

1651. It is ordered this quarter day at our next quarter Isaack Tully shall submit himself to pay a fine to this trade if they shall think it fitting for taking his sister to keep & sell waires for him contrary to our order and soe referre him to this occupation.

It is ordered this Michaelmas quarter 1651 yt Isaack Tully shall pay ye next quarter day xls for his offence to the trade. Candlemas quarter the first of February 1653. It is ordered by the Company of marchants then present that Mr. Isaac Tullys business concerning the payment of forty shillings for keeping his sister in his shop contrary to order to be deferred to be fully determined and ended upon S. John quarter next following.*

The result is not on record, but Tullie was in fresh trouble in 1655, as the following extract shows:—

24th October 1655

We present Mr. Isaack Tully for not accompening Mr. Maior upon notice given by the Sariant contrary to an ancient order made as may appeare therefore we amearcy him iiis. iiiid.

Court Leet Rolls, Carlisle.†

Isaac Tully was a strong Cavalier, and probably objected to swell the train of a Puritan mayor. He was mayor of Carlisle in 1660.

We give his will: he evidently died young, but we have not found the register of his burial.

February 4th 1660

Being in much weakeness of body though in very pfect and sound memory I thought fytt to make my Will concernyng the dysposyn of my Estaite after my

* From the books of the Merchants Guild, Carlisle. *See Municipal Records of the City of Carlisle*, published for this Society, p. 110.

† *Ibid*, p. 292.

decease

decease. Now I declare that in July 1659 I cast up my shop computed what all my shop goodes debts Etc: amounted unto as also what I was owen myselfe and the overpluss of eleject Estaite amounted unto £1135 17s. as may pticularrly appeare by a Bundell of papers in my deske bearying date July 1659 as aforesd synce which tyme I have not cast up my shop but must neades suppose that being 1 yeare & ½ synce it cannot but now be above twelve hundred. However because theire are many desperett debts I shall sett my Estaite at no more than the sd twelve hundred pounds, none of ye goodes within my house being at all accounted applyyed or reckoned in that summe Now concernying the disposying hereof my Will is as followeth. Imprymys: I do here by this my last Wyll and Testament make my wife my sole Executrix. 2dly out of ye sd Estaite my Will is that my wife havve three hundred pounds and all the goodes she brought with her when we were marryed and onely they. I leave also unto my sonne George all my whole and entyre house, lofts, shops, shop chests, Chestes of Boxes situate and being in a place called Bukying together with all ye appurtenances and whatsoever is nayle fast or otherwise fastened: together with all tables, cupboards, chayres, stools and bedsteads with beds in any pt of ye house aforesd to hym and his heires for ever. It. I leave unto my sd sonne my Shop in St. Albons Rowe toge . . . wh with my whole garden in ye Abbey. It. I leave unto my sd Sonne in monyes to be pd hym by his mother at ye age of 21 yeare . . . dred and fifty pounds in mone . . together with one Sylver Tankett, 1 Sylver Litle Cup, and 1 Dozen Sylver Spoones. It. I leave unto . , . danghter Dorothy two hundred pounds to be pd to her by her mother at her accomplyshyng ye age of 21 yeares together with one furnished bed and a chest of Drawers. It. I leave unto my Sonne Isaac two hundred pounds to be pd to hym by his mother at ye age of 21 yeares. It. I leave unto my Sonne Francis one hundred fifty pounds to be pd by his Mother he accomplyshing ye age of 21 yeares. My Will further is that my wife have the tution of all my chyldren and ye use of theire respective portyons tyll they become due as aforesd: she giveing goode security accordying to Lawe and maintaine them in goode ranke out of the use of theire severall portyons: Furthermore my wyll is that my wife enjoy my whole house shops gardens and goodes left to my sonne George tyll he or his heires at Lawe accomplish the age of 21 yeares and then wholy to goe to hym or the next heires forever. Lastly, if all my children dye in mynoryty and leave no Issue, then my wyll is that my wife enjoy all my house lofts gardens and theire apurtenances durying her life naturall and then to discend to the heires at Lawe of the last survyvying chylde Whereunto I have sett my hand and seale the day and yeare abovesd in the presence of

Eras: Towerson Isaac Tullie L.S.

Anthony Simpson

March 4th 1660

Upon the review of my last Will and Testament made signed and sealed Febr. 4th 1660 I Isaac Tullie of Carlisle doe here annex these following clauses and supplements thereunto to be as firme in law as any part of tbe sd Will. Impr: My will is that my wife Dorothie Tullie shall enjoy her thirds of my House during her whole life naturall and all the Houses till George Tullie come to age: It. Instead of twelve silver Spoones left by the aforesd Will unto my son George Tullie I leave him onely Six silver spoones: It. My will is that whatsoever I have bequeathed and

and lelt unto any of my Children to be pd them or any of them at any time or upon any condition shall if they or any of them dye before they attain to the age of 21 yeares fall and come to the other surviving children equally amongst them or to theire heires in law. It. My will is that what debts now due to mee shall not be pd unto my sd wife or her asses my children shall bear a proportionable deduction with her. It. My will is that my sd wife shall put my sons to such trades or other callings as they shall be thought fitt for according to their severall capacities and sd portions when they attain the age of sixteen yeares respectively according as shall be rationally devised and advised by the supervisoners to this my Will beneath named and what shee then layeth out to that use shall be deducted from the whole summe bequeathed them. It. My will is that if my son George Tullie attain to the age of twenty one yeares that then upon his possession of my part of the moyety of Castlefields Tythe and of the close near the Walls of Carlisle late in the possession of Nicholas Orbell he shall pay unto my sd wife the full summe of thirty pounds or upon default of such payment by him or his asses my sd wife shall continue the sd Lease in her hands untill the sd thirty pounds be pd by him or his asses or the Lease run out the sd summes. Lastly I appoynt & constitute my brother Timothie Tullie clerk and Erasmus Towerson gent. supvisors unto this my last Will and Testament to see it pformed according to the true intent and meaning thereof.

Isaac Tullie

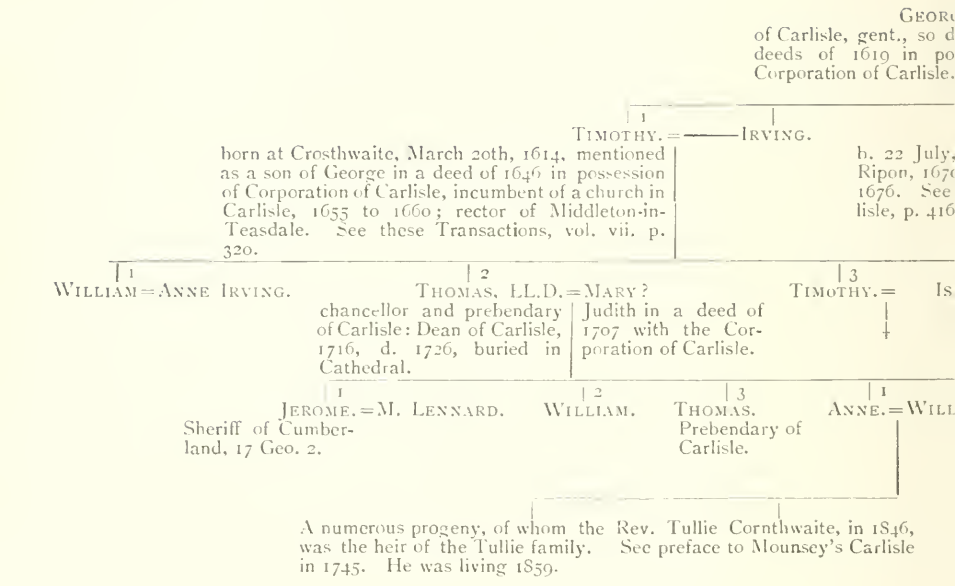
Witnesses to this Codicill
Eras: Towerson
Antho: Simpson

Proved 4th May 1661.

Isaac Tullie's seal, affixed to his will, bears a lion passant in chief, and a chevron charged with three escallops.

We give a skeleton pedigree to show the connection between Isaac Tullie and various of his connections, who rose to high places in the Church. For much of the information we are indebted to Mrs. Lambert of Ch: Ch: Vicarage, Bradford-on-Avon, a niece of the Rev. Tullie Cornthwaite.

Pedigree of Tullie of Carlisle.



LLY, = MRS. THOMASINE HECKSTETTER,
d in | m. at Crosthwaite, April 22. 1613, mentioned
n of | as a widow in deed of 1646 in possession of
Corporation of Carlisle.

| 2
AS, D.D., | A SISTER.
Dean of | See Merchant Guild
January, | Books, Carlisle.
on's Car-

Isaac. = DOROTHY.
See his will.
Author of the Narrative of the Siege of Carlisle in 1644-5, born 1627 (see the Narrative, p. 14), Mayor of Carlisle 1660, died before 4th May, 1661. Will.

| 5
PHILIP. =
| b. 1653, B.A. Oxon. Feb. 6th, 1674-5,
† Prebendary of Ripon, Sub-Dean of York,
died 1695, Rector of Gateshead.

GEORGE, = ——— ISAAC. FRANCIS. DOROTHY.

2 |
ORNTHWAITE. ISABELLA. = JOHN WAUGH,
Rector of Caldbeck, Prebendary and Chancellor of Carlisle 1727, Dean of Worcester, d. 1765. He was son of John Waugh, Bishop of Carlisle 1723 to 1734.

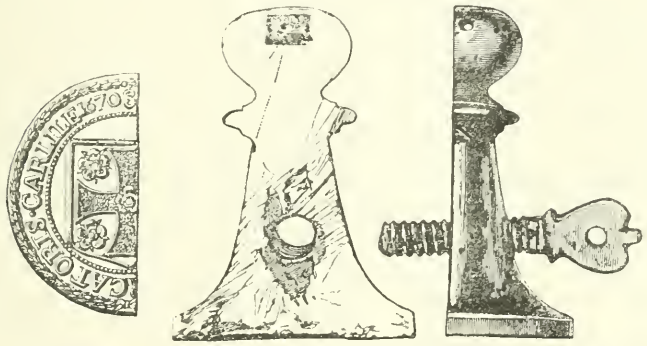
JOHN, of Bromsgrove, d. s.p.

| 1 JUDITH. | 2 ISABELLA. | 3 ELIZABETH. | 4 MARY. | 5 MARGARET.
All died unmarried: they resided in Tullie House, Abbey Street, Carlisle, and were known as "the five celebrated Miss Waughs of Carlisle."

ART. XI.—*The Seal of the Statute Merchant of Carlisle.* By the WORSHIPFUL CHANCELLOR FERGUSON, F.S.A., President of the Society.

Read at Ambleside, Sept. 4th, 1889.

I HAVE the honour to exhibit one-half of the matrix of a Statute Merchant seal for Carlisle.



IMPRESSION, AND FRONT AND SIDE VIEW OF THE MATRIX, OF A STATUTE MERCHANT SEAL FOR CARLISLE, 1670 (full size).

The late much lamented treasurer of the Society of Antiquaries of London, Mr. Perceval, on two occasions* contributed to that Society some account of the seals provided for recognizances of debtors under the statute of Acton Burnell *de Mercatoribus,* 11 Edward I., and the statute of Westminster of the thirteenth year of the same reign.

"These seals," Mr. Perceval said, "were to be 'of two pieces,' the king's seal, to be kept by the mayor or some other person of trust in the town to which the seal was

* Proc. S.A.L., 2d. S., vii. 107, and ix. 553.

granted ;

granted; the other, the smaller piece, or the clerk's seal, was to be in the custody of a clerk named by the king."

These seals were originally made as seal and counterseal and of both seal and counterseal Mr. Perceval gives several examples of early date; he also gives four of date of the seventeenth century, namely, three circular seals, and one semicircular, which he thus describes:—"There is a seal for Carlisle, of which I do not know the history. It is half a circular seal, as if from a matrix purposely cut in two. The device is (half of) the cross patée, cantoned with roses, which appears on the town seal. The legend: S[igillvm Statuti Me]RCATORIS CARLILE 1670."

Mr. Perceval's knowledge of this seal was derived from sundry gutta-percha casts made from the half-matrix in 1859, when the Royal Archæological Institute visited Carlisle, and formed a temporary museum. In the catalogue the half-matrix is included, and stated to be of silver. From that time to a few days ago the half-matrix has been missing. It turned up recently in a box of old keys, and I have now the honour, by permission of the Mayor and Corporation of Carlisle, of exhibiting it to the Society.

It is of white metal, not silver, and is the moiety or half part of a circular seal with conically-shaped handle, which at the top swells into a collar and head. The seal has been turned in the lathe, and when finished carefully cut into two moieties down the central axis. The arrangements for joining the two moieties when required for use are as follows: a projection on the head of the lost moiety fits into a square hole in the head of the moiety now on the table, and is secured by a pin, now missing; a screw, which is preserved, runs through the lower part of the matrix, and by these means a firm joint was secured.

The governing charter of the city of Carlisle, 13 Charles I., says:—

Et

Et ulterius volumus ac per præsentes pro nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris concedimus præfatis Maiori Aldermannis Ballivis et Civibus Civitatis prædictæ et successoribus suis quod prædictus Maior qui pro tempore fuerit habeat plenam potestatem et authoritatem recipiendas quascunque Recogniciones inter Mercatorem et Mercatorem et execuciones inde faciendas juxta formam Statutæ Mercatorum et Statutæ de Acton Burnell nuper editæ et provisæ et quod Communis Clericus Civitatis prædictæ pro tempore existens erit Clericus noster heredum et successorum nostrorum ad scribendas Recogniciones prædictas ac ad omnia alia facienda et exequenda quæ ad dictum officium secundum formam statutæ pradictæ spectant et pertinent.

The mayor would thus have one moiety of the seal in his custody, and the common or town clerk would have the other as clerk of the king.*

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* The substance of the above account was read to the Society of Antiquaries of London, as a report, on May 16, 1889. We are indebted to the kindness of that Society for an electro of the wood work. See Proc. S.A.L., 2 S. xii. 408.

ART. XII.—*Fragments of a British Cross and many Early English and other Grave Covers found in Bromfield Churchyard.* By the REV. W. S. CALVERLEY, F.S.A.

Read at Carlisle, Sept. 13th, 1888.

ON the south side of the church of St. Mungo, in Bromfield churchyard, is a raised quadrangular platform, ascended by four red sandstone steps. There is no cross-shaft, dial-pillar, or any other erection upon the platform, which was in the last century used for crying sales, things stolen or lost, &c., and giving notice of local and parish affairs.

Three of the steps were above ground; one step was covered by the churchyard sod. The top of the platform was covered with a turf, the growth of many years. At the south-west corner and in the south side of the second step had been cut a rectangular hole, into which had been fixed the stem of what seemed to have been a holy water stoup. This remains in situ. The fragment, sometimes locally called "the chair," stands eleven inches high, and consists of what appears to be the base of a circular bowl, whose rim has been entirely demolished, supported by a rectangular pediment (sides, 7 in. by 8 in.) with a bead at the corners. Possibly, a lower portion of the original pedestal has at some time been broken away. Hutchinson's History mentions the platform "of four or five quadrangular steps of stone that formed the base of the cross, long since destroyed," and also notices the "stone stool heretofore used and probably put up that public notices and proclamations might thence be given with more advantage."

The Rev. T. Lees, F.S.A., suggests that in earlier times, when the cross stood in its place, the reliquary might

might be placed upon this stone during the ceremonies which took place on the Sunday before Palm Sunday, or other processionals of the cross, when the children sang hymns, and a halt was made at different stations around the church.

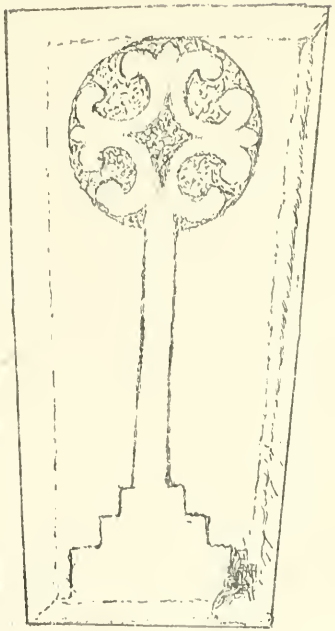
There is a similar fragment fixed in an isolated red sandstone block lying in the churchyard of St. Kentigern, Aspatria. I have looked upon these remains as being Holy water stoups, for use at early mission preaching stations, where crosses had been erected. In Cutts' "Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses," plate V., fig. 2, is engraved a slab from Marisk, Richmondshire (date given as twelfth century) having four symbols; on the right hand beneath the cross head, the Textus or Gospels; on the left hand the chalice. Beneath the Book is a symbol which Cutts says "may be the Corporas case." "The remaining symbol," *i.e.*, the one beneath the chalice, he says, "is unexplained; it may, perhaps, be a pyx." Now this figure is not as the others are, complete in itself, but it appears to be a square ornamented case, perhaps leather, with a curved loop on one side, by which it might be carried, and it is fixed upon a thin upright staff by which, as by a handle, it might be borne aloft in processions. This staff is placed in a square, unornamented, pediment, apparently resting upon the second step of the Calvary and rising a little above the highest step, thus well elevating the "pyx" or the reliquary, whichever it it may be, in a position possibly alongside the Holy water stoup, beneath the churchyard cross.

This memorial slab of a Richmondshire priest of the twelfth century, seems to illustrate very clearly the uses of the fragments still preserved near the crosses which marked the sites of Christian mission stations of the time of S.S. Ninian, Patrick, and Kentigern at Bromfield and at Aspatrick, now euphonized into Aspatria. Thinking that some of the stones used in the formation of the steps of

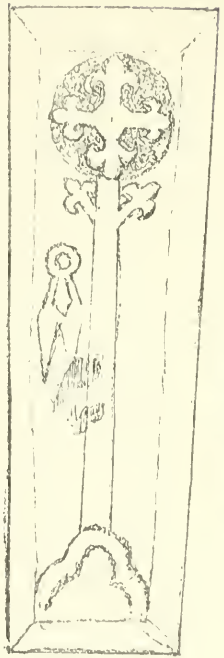
of this platform might prove to be portions of the ancient cross, and might still bear sculptures, the Vicar of Bromfield, the Rev. R. Taylor, and I determined to examine them and did so on June 4th, 1888. For this purpose we pared off the sod lying upon the top and raised the upper steps which we were surprised to find presented the chamfered edges of old grave covers, and bore crosses incised and in relief, of a plain or decorated character, with Calvary steps or window tracery, or both, and having the sword, the shears, the arrow, or parts of inscriptions appearing alongside.

These upper layers of stones were all grave slabs, generally lying face downwards, but as each stone has a broad end and a narrow one, and as one side only of each is square with the ends, the other side making at the head an acute angle with the end, and an obtuse angle at the foot, some ingenuity was needed in fitting together the material as a stepped platform, and so the stones were *sometimes* placed with the figured surface uppermost, in which cases the chamfers and carvings were generally almost worn away or were hidden under the superincumbent step. We thought that some of the lower steps, the long stones of which were hollow with foot wear, and especially those of the south side where stood the stoup, might prove to be other than old grave covers used up again, but inspection shewed that the socket into which the stoup was fitted had been worked in an ancient grave cover, six feet eight inches long, placed as the second step from the ground. The whole platform was formed around a core of earth and stone fragments. There were twenty-three covers of different sizes, designs, and dates, ranging from two to nearly seven feet in length, and from the eleventh or early twelfth to the end of the fourteenth century in date. The best of these were fixed erect against the west wall within the church by the Vicar: the others were re-arranged as a platform as before.

We



I.

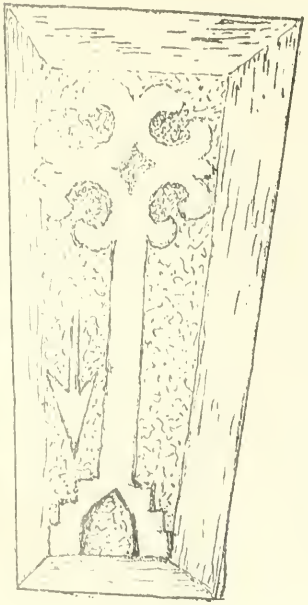


II.

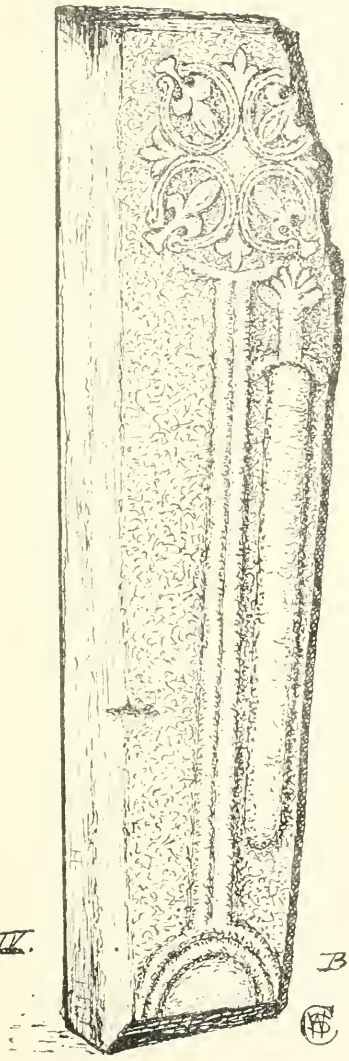
St Mungo's

V.

Bromfield.



III.



IV.

St. Mungo's
Bromfield.

We give drawings of eight fragments prepared from photographs very kindly taken for us by W. L. Fletcher, Esq., of Stoneleigh, Workington. Fig. I., moulded edge; head of cross in low relief formed by simply cutting away the remaining surface within the circle; stem and calvary steps merely incised; no symbols. Fig. II., plain chamfered edge; head in relief as in I., stem incised; beneath the circle two fleur-de-lis shaped foliations; trefoil window head takes place of Calvary; symbols, a pair of pointed shears on the left hand. I think we counted five pairs of shears broad and narrow during this find; some of them probably denoting the burial of women. None of these appeared with Gospels and chalice, emblems of the priesthood, and therefore may not commemorate archdeacons or deans one duty of whom, Mr. Lees tells us, was thus expressed at a council at York, A.D. 1195:—"Let clerks who despise the crown (i.e., the tonsure) if beneficed, be deprived, if not *let them be shaved against their will* by the archdeacon or dean."

The visitor to Bromfield Church may now see two tonsured heads on either side of the chancel arch acting as corbels bearing the widened arch. This arch took the place of the old Norman arch, whose carved stonework was mutilated and used up again by the enlargers, it may be of the time when the tombstones were removed and built up round the place of the Cross outside. Fig. III., plain chamfered edge; the whole cross in relief; symbol, an arrow also in relief; within the Calvary a pointed early English arch. Fig. IV. is the gem of the collection, a triumph of the designer and the stone-cutter in rendering simplicity, and elegance, and power; a massive stone with a plain chamfer; a double stemmed cross rises in rounded relief from a circular arch; the head of the cross becomes glorious with the sign of the Trinity and the much loved fleur-de-lis, which is laid in all its purity within each of the four circles of this beautiful piece of carving; the great sword

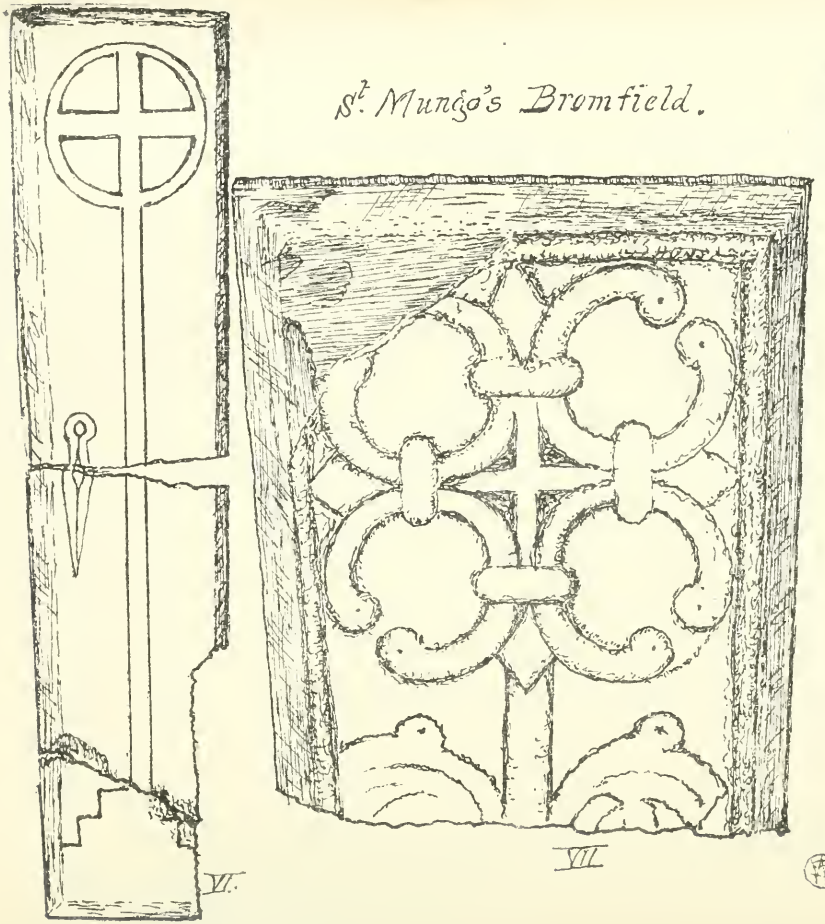
sword of the strong man, sheathed, with curved guard, lies alongside on the right hand.

Fig. V. is only a fragment; it was not worth building in as part of the steps, and it was found amongst the *rubbish* which formed the core of the structure, yet it is a most interesting relic, for it tells of the vanished De Bromfields. A massive stone with a plain chamfer; a line appears above the letters, which shews us that an incised cross ornamented the memorial; no doubt the great sword, incised, of the Lord of Bromfield, lay alongside to the right hand as the inscription lies on the left. The letter S will be readily seen with the U above it; three stops divide the words; after the S appears "De" and then the two first letters of the name BR—— and this is what is left memorialwise of the Bromfields, who vanished at an early date from the parish. Whether this word ending in S was Gulielmus, or Ricardus, or Dominus is not known.

Bromfield and Scalesmere were granted by Waldieve, first Lord of Allerdale, to Melbeth, his physician, whose posterity took the name of Bromfield. In 39, Ed. III. Johes de Bromfield and Thomas de Lowther held land at Langrigg valent per annum £5. The same John had other lands at Bromfield. In 42, Ed. III. (1469) from the registers of Holme Cultram it appears "that soon after the foundation of Holme Cultram, Adam, son of Thomas de Bromfield, granted to the said Abbey the manor of Bromfield." Melbeth had granted the church to the Abbey of S. Mary, York.

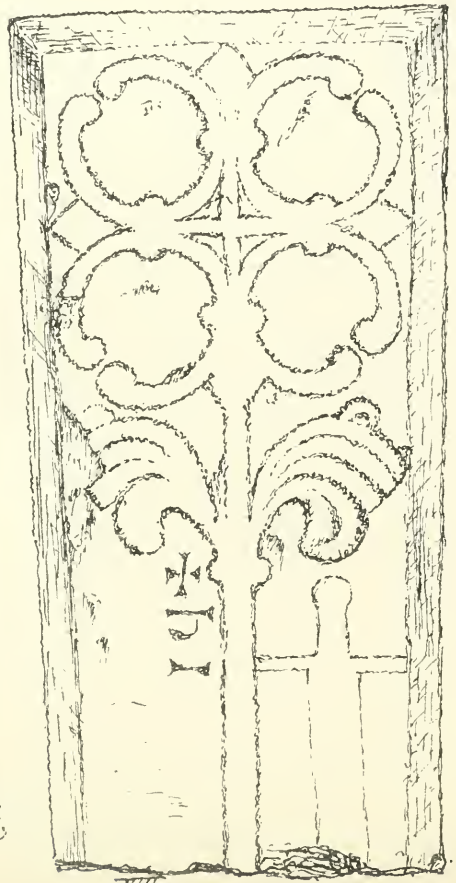
Fig. VII. is a very simple early slab with plain chamfered edge, incised cross with plain circle and calvary, a pair of narrow shears on the left hand. There are several of this type, one with chalice of priest, fixed in the church. Fig. VII. is the upper part of a slab with moulding and chamfer. The cross head is in partial relief, and shews two foliations in the upper part of the stem. Fig. VIII. is much like VII. There is a chamfer without moulding and

St. Mungo's Bromfield.



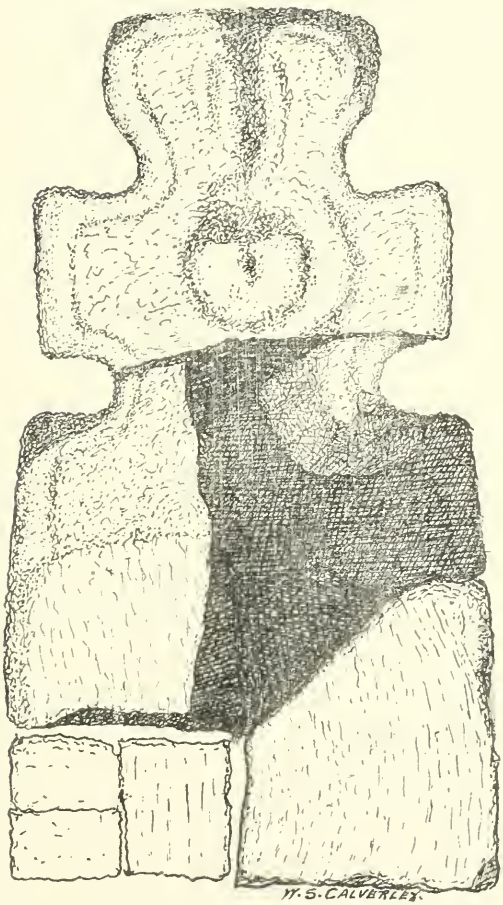
VI.

VII.



VIII.

White Sandstone Cross Head.



W. S. CALVERLEY.

Fragments of British Cross,
St MUNGO,
BROMFIELD.

and foliations. On the right hand side is a sword with square guard ; on the left, after the cross sign, are the first two letters *Hi* of *Hic jacet*, the beginning of an inscription which the mason has never completed.

On excavating the core of the structure we found several very small tomb slabs, about two feet long, some of them bearing lines for the guide of the mason, as though fresh and unfinished from the stone-cutter's yard. There were also the two halves of a cylindrical pillar, split lengthwise down the middle. These may have been the lower part of a red sandstone pillar cross, or they may possibly have been part of a column from the church. There were no red sandstone sculptures which could be recognized as belonging to such cross. Beneath these buried fragments we found a mass of harder earth and *white* sandstone fragments. These pieces of white sandstone, about a dozen in number, shewed traces of sculpture, and beneath them we turned up the complete head of a white sandstone cross of the very early type, with central boss and ring, and a raised beading round the edges, the solid head and arms in one piece, the stone very much worn and weathered before being buried here.

The smaller pieces were put together and revealed the shoulders and part of the shaft of the cross. The cross had not only been broken up but split down the middle sidewise before burial. One very small piece, which will be seen under the arm on the right hand in the drawing here given being placed upon one of the pieces of the back part of the cross revealed the curve beneath the arm containing the moulding. Further down, a solid piece of stone completed the relics which we were able to fix into place. These have been cemented together and placed by the Vicar in the church near the pulpit. The cross, as we now know it, is thirty-one inches high. The head is nine inches wide at top, fourteen inches across the arms, and six inches thick. The neck is nine inches across. The shoulders

shoulders fifteen inches. The greatest thickness is seven-and-a-half inches. The lower parts of the shaft have been worn away as if by the sharpening upon it of a scythe or other iron implement.

The whole must have been exposed to the weather many hundred years before it was broken up and buried. This may, indeed, be the identical cross around which the British were gathered to listen to the Gospel and receive baptism before any stone church was raised, and even two hundred years before S. Kentigern, the Apostle of Strathclyde, whose name the present church bears, journeyed this way on his road into Wales in the sixth century.

Another fragment of pre-Norman times, a house-shaped (hog-back) tombstone, its roof ornamented with triangular tiles has been built above the Norman arch of the west doorway, as at Bongate, Cross-Canonby, &c., &c. In the chapel of S. George a floriated grave cover has Adam of Crookdake 1304. In the Lady chapel is the cover of the stone coffin of been used as a lintel for a window.

There are many scattered hamlets and the following townships in the parish, viz: Allonby; Mealrigg; West Newton, where was a manor house; Langrigg, Crookdake, Bromfield, Scales, Blencogo, Wheyrigg, Moor-Row, Dundraw, and Kelsick, many of which still have their old Halls. Thomas de Newton (Ed. III,) and his ancestors are said to have been Lords of Newton from the time of King Stephen. To such local Lords may many of these slabs have been memorials.

ART. XIII.—*Church Bells in Leath Ward. No. 2.* By the REV. H. WHITEHEAD.

Contributed at Ambleside, Sept. 4th, 1889.

DACRE (*continued*).

THE following translation of the Latin elegiacs* on the Dacre treble, by the Rev. T. W. Norwood, vicar of Wrenbury, Cheshire, has the merit of assigning an intelligible meaning to the last two lines :—

> Regard not shew ; bend to the Lord and pray ;
> I call you to the Temple God to praise.
> Thrice have I jarred ; you've fallen day by day ;
> I'm sound ; by prayer you may be, mend your ways.

The Rev. T. F. Owen, vicar of Wood Walton, Peterborough, renders the last two lines thus :—

> I thrice have sounded discordantly, you have fallen daily ;
> I am now sound ; become you so by prayer, mend your ways.

Mr. Norwood and Mr. Owen, writing independently of each other, agree in suggesting that the bell may have been thrice cracked and thrice recast.

The initials H F on this bell are, as I have said (*ante*, IX, 488), probably those of the donor ; whom perhaps it may not be possible to identify. It may, however, be

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*For which see vol. ix. p. 488, of these Transactions. But for the reader's convenience I here repeat them :—

W ☐ O +

NON FORMAM SPECTAS DNO SED SVPPLICE FLECTAS
CLAMITO DE TEMPLV QVOD VENERE DEV
TER MALE DISSONVI TV QVOTIDIE CECIDISTI
SVM PRECE TV FIAS CORRIGE SANA VIAS.
H F 1606

worth

worth while to notice that Henry Featherstonehaugh of Kirkoswald, who died in 1626, was both by descent and marriage connected with places near Dacre.*

Referring to the illustrations of cross and lettering on the 2nd Dacre bell, cast at the end of the 14th century by the York founder Johannes de Kirkham (*ante*, IX, 493), the Rev. W. C. Lukis, F.S.A., Rector of Wath, Yorkshire, wrote :—

> The initial cross numbered 11 and the letter A (numbered 12) are found on the 2nd bell at Scawton in Yorkshire, where there is the founder's shield bearing a pastoral staff between a candlestick, a bell, and a melting pot: an inscription round the shield + IOANNES DE COPGRAF ME FECIT; and the legend + CAMPANA BEATE MARIE.

The late Mr. Stahlschmidt, to whom I sent Mr. Lukis' description of the Scawton bell, wrote :—

> I take it the staff indicates that John de Copgrave, presumably a native of the little village of that name near Ripon, was a bell founder in an episcopal city, i.e., York; and the use of the foundry stamp indicates to my mind a later date than John de Kirkham. Not improbably John de Copgrave was a successor of John de Kirkham.

It is seldom that we find a founder's name or even his initials on a mediæval bell. John de Kirkham, however, whose name occurs in full on Dacre 2d, also placed his initials on one of the two bells at Sproatly, near Hull; both of which, as I have recently ascertained, bear the same cross and lettering as are found in the lower in-

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* THOMAS DUDLEY of Yanwath = GRACE THRELKELD

ALBANY FEATHERSTONEHAUGH d. 1573 = LUCY d. 1596 = GERARD LOWTHER

HENRY FEATHERSTONEHAUGH d. 1626 = DOROTHY WYBERGH of Clifton Hall.

scription

scription on Dacre 2d, but with a fleur-de-lis, as at Cumrew and Threlkeld, instead of three roundlets, as intervening stop.

The Dacre tenor, on which occur two lions passant and the Adoration of the Magi (*ante*, IX, 489), I formerly thought might have been presented by a member of the Dudley family (*ib.*, 492). But Mr. Norwood has remarked that the lions, if intended as a coat of arms, would have been on a shield. They are therefore probably a bellfounder's stamp.

EDENHALL.

Edward VI's commissioners found at "Edynhall" in 1552

ij litill belles;

which were probably the sanctus and sacring bells. What other bells they found we cannot learn from their report, part of the Edenhall list of church goods having been torn off from the original MS. (*ante*, VIII, 194).

Bishop Nicolson, who was here on August 19, 1703, says of the church tower:—

Within are two small Bells; on the larger whereof are ye *Stapleton's* Arms and *Campana Cuthberti Sancti.*

This is one of the only three places, the other two being Skelton and Penrith, where he recorded a bell inscription; though the bells themselves are often mentioned in his notes.

The terrier of 1749, signed by "Christopher Musgrave, Vicar," has this entry:—

Two Bells with their frames the Larger thought to weigh about two Hundred weight the lesser one Hundred and a half.

No.

No other terrier at Edenhall has any mention of the bells.

There are now three bells here, viz :—

	Note	Diameter	cwt.	qr.	lbs.
Treble	F	17½ inches	1	1	7
No. 2	E	17 inches	1	1	0
Tenor	D	19½ inches	1	3	14

The weights are reckoned from the diameters.

The tenor, from its weight, is evidently identical with "the larger" bell of the terrier; also, from its inscription, with "the larger" of the two bells seen here by Bp. Nicolson, since it has, round its shoulder, in Lombardic letters, with floriated initial cross, and the Stapleton arms as intervening stop, this legend :—

+ SANCTI ▯ CAMPANA ▯ CUTHBERTI.

The cross (Fig. 15)* and lettering (Figs. 17-20) are of precisely the same character as the cross and lettering on the treble at Egremont, but do not as yet enable us to identify the founder. The bell is dedicated to the patron saint of the church. The Stapleton arms (Fig. 16) are :—

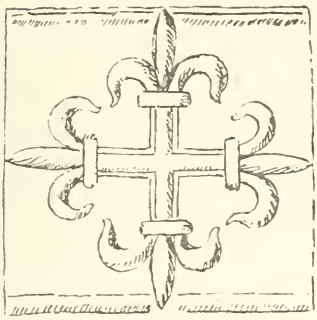
Arg. 3 swords, pomels in the nombrils of the escutcheon, points extended, Gules (*Lysons*, p. lxxxiii).

Edenhall manor came to the Stapletons in 1327 by the marriage of William Stapleton with Julian, heiress of the Turps. "It continued to be held by the Stapleton family for five descents, when Joan, second daughter and co-heir

* All the illustrations to this paper, unless otherwise specified, are full size.

of

15



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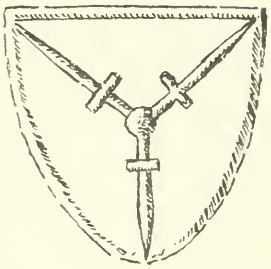

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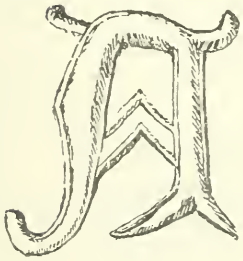

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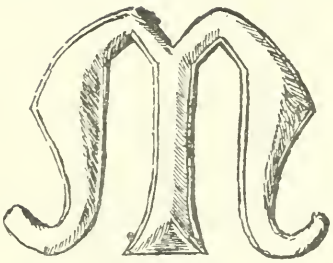

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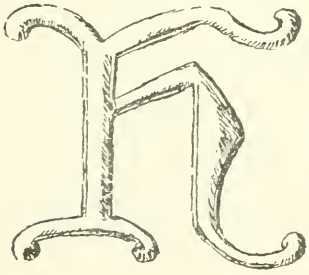

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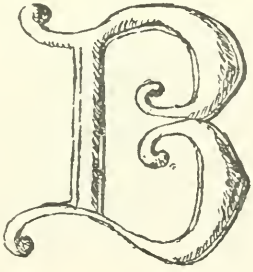
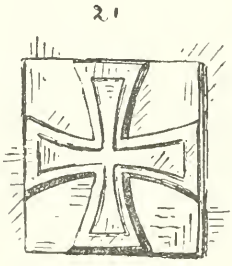
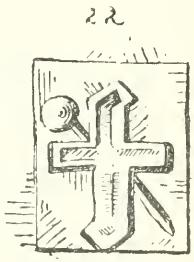
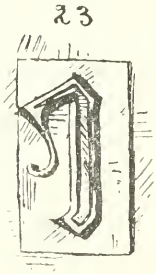


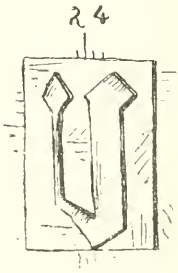
of Sir William Stapleton Kt, brought it in marriage to Thomas de Musgrave about the 38th Hen VI—1459-60" (Whellan, p. 532). The last of the Stapletons, as may be seen from his monumental brass in Edenhall church, "obiit xxvii die Augusti A D MCCCCLVII". The period 1327-1457, then, is that within which the date of the bell must be placed. But the period may be still further limited; for, whilst the Lombardic lettering indicates that the bell is not later than the very beginning of the 15th century, Mr. Stahlschmidt was of opinion that "from the occurrence of a shield of arms it is unlikely to be earlier than quite late in the 14th century". Perhaps we shall not be far wrong in contracting the period to 1380-1420.

The treble has on its waist a cross *patèe* (fig. 21), and black letter X reversed (fig. 22), each twice repeated; also black letters R (fig. 23) and V (fig. 24), each reversed.









The

The intervening spaces are of equal length, about four inches, with nothing to indicate with which cross or letter the inscription begins :—

+ X R V + X

I am not able to make any suggestion as to what these letters may mean.

No. 2 has on its waist the following letters (Roman capitals) and date :—

S^{R} P M 1665 W S

The initials are doubtless those of William Sellar, a York founder. S^{R} P M is of course the famous Sir Philip Musgrave. Prior to the Restoration his life had been one of romantic adventure. But in 1660 he settled down to a quiet life in his mansion at Edenhall, and became a great benefactor to the parish church ; to which, amongst other gifts, he presented a massive silver gilt chalice and cover, hall-marked 1667-8 (*Old Church Plate in Carlisle Diocese*, p. 248). It might therefore be natural to suppose that he also gave the bell, dated 1665, which bears his initials. But this will presently appear doubtful.

We have seen that in 1703, and also in 1749, there were only two bells at Edenhall church ; " the larger " of which must be identified with the present tenor. Whether to identify " the lesser " with the present treble or with No. 2, as they differ but a few pounds in weight, cannot be settled by the terrier. But I noticed that, whereas the treble and tenor have headstocks very much alike, and hang at the same level, No. 2 hangs above them, and its headstock is of a different shape. It has therefore probably at some time since 1749 been brought, headstock and all, from some other place. Chancellor Waugh, writing in 1749 or thereabouts, says in his MS notes to Bishop Nicolson's

Nicolson's *Miscellany Accounts:* "The family of Edenhall when in the County use their own Chapel considerably and seldom go down to the Church." And Hutchinson (vol. 1, p. 247), writing of Edenhall in 1794, mentions "a neat private chapel", apparently then still in use. The bell in question, then, may have belonged for more than a century to the chapel of the Hall.

The bells at Edenhall church are rung for marriages, and after as well as before a funeral. There is also here the usage of the death knell, indicating age of deceased.

GREYSTOKE.

The Greystoke bells, from an antiquarian point of view, are exceedingly interesting. Yet, except very inaccurately in a terrier, they have never been described. Bishop Nicolson, who visited Greystoke, on Feb. 26, 1704, says:—

> The Tower is crack'd, in the North-West Corner, from top to bottome; and looks Threatning. There are in it four pretty Tuneable Bells; and a Clock, loosely enough managed (Bp. N's *Visitation*, p. 131).

We may be sure the bishop did not ascend the tower, or he would have noticed the bell inscriptions. Its "threatning" aspect would not have deterred him from ascending it, had he been so minded; but, seeing that he took but a single day to visit Great Salkeld, Barton, and Greystoke, we need not be surprised that he had no time at any one of the three churches to spare for the belfry, and must wonder at the number of things he did contrive to observe. The terrier of 1749, strangely enough for one of Chancellor Waugh's terriers, does not mention the bells. That of 1777, signed by "Edward Carlisle, Rector", thus describes them:—

> Four bells with ropes wheels and Frames One the Great Bell has a Sentence round its circumference near the mouth the Letters partly defaced by Time Another Bell has the name Dacre Another two names

names of two persons its founders The fourth plain Their weight unknown One Church Clock of the old construction.

Mr. Carlisle may deserve some credit for having conceived the idea of reporting the inscriptions on his bells. But his inaccuracy, as we shall presently see, is remarkable. No subsequent terrier has any mention of the bells. Whellan, writing in 1860, says (p. 542):—

There are four very ancient bells with inscriptions round them.

No notice is taken of them in the other county histories. They are:—

	Note	Diameter
Treble	E	30½ inches
No. 2	D	32½ inches
No. 3	C♯	33½ inches
Tenor	C	36 inches

The notes, which I do not give on my own authority, seem strange.

The treble and third bell, being evidently from the same foundry, may be conveniently taken together. They have the same cross, stop, and black-letter type, the only difference being that the third bell has three capital initials, whilst there is no capital letter on the treble. The inscription on No. 3 is

Andreas : dei : gracia : ihc +
Robertus : Edmundson :

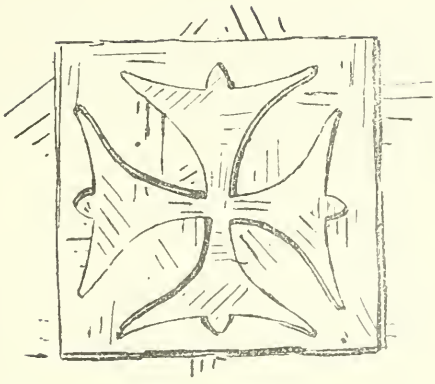
The treble has

+ dei : gra : katerina : ihu : xpi : sponsa :
pro : nobis : oibus : ora : t : aukeland : ihc

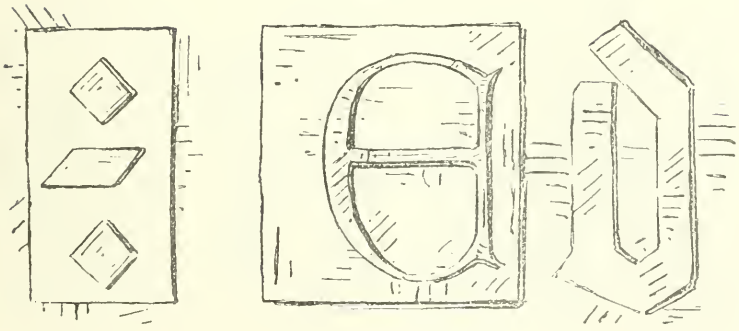
The

The cross (*patonce*) is engraved on the opposite page (fig. 25). A rhomboid with a roundlet above and below (fig. 26) serves as intervening stop throughout. The letters (figs. 27 and 28) are about an inch high, and very thick. The same cross, stop, and type, occur on the Redmarshall tenor, Durham, on which is inscribed Cristoferus, running right round with letters more than two inches apart (*Newcastle Antiquarian Proceedings*, vol. IV, p. 22). Turning to the history of Greystoke church, in search of some clue to the probable age of the two bells now under consideration, we find the church in 1382 "much out of repair, the wall crazy, the belfry fallen in", and "the inhabitants of Threlkeld and Wethermelock", townships in the parish, "threatened with excommunication unless they contributed to the repairs" (*ante*, I, 321-2); which seems to have been rather hard upon the people of the townships, seeing that the result of a commission of inquiry in the same year was that "the revenues of the church were stated to be sufficient to maintain two chaplains, the parish priest, and five other priests besides". A further result of the commission was that "a college of secular canons was founded", and "at the same time six chantries were founded in the church, to each of which a priest was appointed—St. Andrew, St. Mary, St. John Baptist, St. Thomas the Martyr, St. Katherine, and St. Peter". Mr. C. J. Ferguson, F.S.A., referring to these arrangements, says:—"Doubtless after this extension of the foundation the intention of rebuilding the church in its present form was entertained. I say in its present form, for although the church and tower have since been rebuilt they seem to have been rebuilt on the old plan". (*ib*). The last rebuilding of the tower was in 1817. At what time after 1382 the former rebuilding took place seems not to be known. But, whatever the date, the treble and third bell, which bear the names of two of the chantry saints, St. Andrew being also the patron saint of the

25



26 27 28



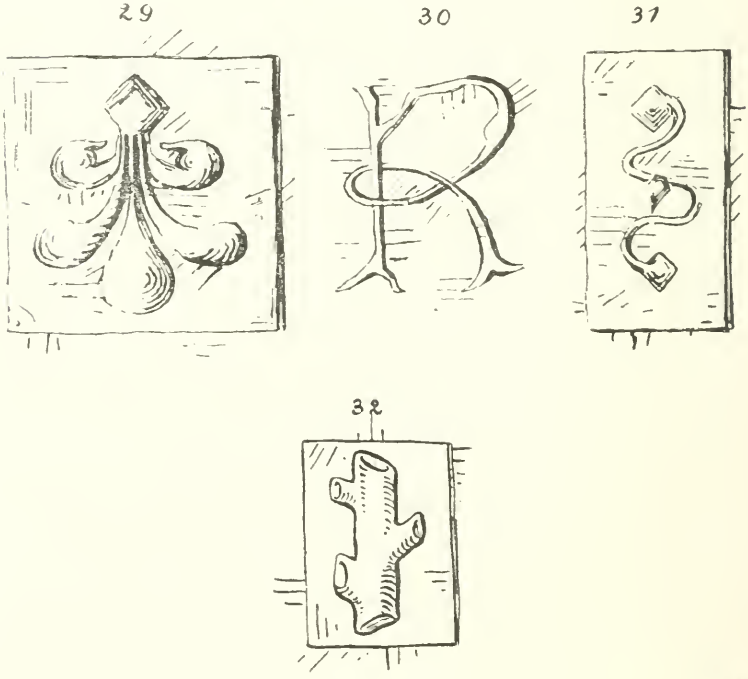
the church, were doubtless placed in the tower, if not at once on its erection, at all events soon afterwards. The names Robert Edmundson and T. Auckland, which occur on these bells, may be those of the donors. The Rev. T. Lees, F.S.A., vicar of Wreay, formerly curate of Greystoke, writing to me about them, says:—"Edmundson is an old Greystoke name; but Auckland is not".

The

The tenor or "great bell", as it is called in the terrier of 1777, has two inscriptions, one on the shoulder, and the other on the outside of the soundbow, each running quite round. The letters, one of which is here illustrated (fig. 30), are large capitals of a nondescript character. The inscription round the shoulder is

IHESVS ·· BE ·· OVRE ·· SdED ·· EVER·· AME ··
IHON TORNOK MAYDE THYS Ƀ ··

The letter P is, as I have placed it, upside down ; N and S are reversed, except the final S of IHESVS, which stands sideways. The stop after the words IHESVS and SPED seems intended for the Dacre escallop (fig. 29) ; after OVRE and the final B a wavy bell rope (fig. 31) ; and after EVER and AME the ragged staff (fig. 32). Of the bell founder,



IHON

IHON TORNOR, nothing is yet known. The second inscription, viz, that round the soundbow, is of course the "sentence" mentioned in the terrier account of the "great bell" as being "round the circumference near the mouth partly defaced by time". It seems odd, by the way, that anyone who took the trouble so far to examine the "sentence" on the soundbow as to see that it was "partly defaced" should have altogether overlooked the inscription round the shoulder. The partial defacement, due to the strokes of the clock hammer, does not extend further than the first word on the soundbow, which is not hopelessly past recognition, and is placed beyond doubt by the context. The inscription is

THOMAS ·· DE ·· DACRE ·· DOMINVS ·· DE ·· GRAISOTK ·· ET ·· DACRE ·· ET ·· MILIS ·· GARTERII ·· QUI ·· OT ·· ANO ·· X^{i} ·· M D XXIIII ·· ET ·· XXIIII DIE O

Here, as on the shoulder, the letters N and S are reversed, except in the word GRAISOTK, where the S is placed sideways. The intervening stop throughout is the wavy bell rope. The initial stamp is a bell hanging from what resembles the cross pole of a leaping bar. The letters OT between the words QVI and ANO do not stand side by side as I have placed them, but in a vertical line, T above O, and are a contraction of OBIIT. The final O is evidently all that there was room for of the word OCTOBRIS. This inscription tells its own story intelligibly enough, but not quite correctly, as Thomas Lord Dacre did not die till the following year. In vol. IV, p. 478, of these Transactions occurs the following note:—

Anno Domini mdxxv, xxiv die mensis Octobris, obiit piæ memoriæ dominus Thomas Dacre, quondam dominus de Dacre, Graystok, et Gillesland, miles nobilissimi ordinis Garterii, ac guardianus generalis marchiarum versus Scotiam.—Ex Martyrologio Novi Monasterii; an extract printed in the Publications of the Surtees Society, vol. 66, app. II, p. 304, from Dugdale.

Baron

Baron of Dacre and Gilsland by inheritance, "dominus de Graystok" by marriage with Elizabeth Greystoke, Knight of the Garter, and warden of the West Marches, Lord Thomas Dacre was a notable man in the days of border warfare, when, as at Branksome,

> To back and guard the archer band,
> Lord Dacre's bill-men were at hand,
> A hardy race, on Irthing bred,
> With kirtles white and crosses red,
> Array'd beneath the banner tall,
> That stream'd o'er Acre's conquered wall;
> And minstrels, as they marched in order,
> Play'd "Noble Lord Dacre, he dwells on the Border".

He was in the battle of Flodden Field, and contributed greatly to the victory. His tombstone is in the choir of Lanercost Abbey. The Greystoke tenor, commemorating his death, was perhaps given to the church by his son and successor, Lord William.

The 2nd bell has a remarkable inscription, a fac-simile of which, or rather of a rubbing taken from it, is given (quarter size) on the opposite page. It runs quite round the shoulder of the bell, with nothing except the initial cross to indicate where any one of its words begins or ends, and with its last two letters for want of room placed under the cross. The letter v (for u) throughout and w (which only once occurs) are upside down. The type is of a composite character, some of the letters being Lombardic and some black-letter; a combination which seems indicative of the period (1400-1420) "when the two styles overlapped, or existed side by side". (Stahlschmidt's *Surrey Church Bells*, p. x). The cross and lettering are the same as are found on the tenor at Egglescliffe, Durham, where the legend is SANCTE MARCE ORA PRO NOBIS; also on the treble at Raskelf, Yorkshire, with legend SANCTE IACOBE ORA PRO NOBIS; and on the 2nd bell at Dunsforth,

CHURCH

Yorkshire,

Yorkshire, with legend SANCTA HELENA reversed throughout. The tenor at Haughton-le-Skerne, Durham, has in the same type in three rectangular stamps the letters BCD PQ RSTV, all reversed and upside down. The cross, first three letters, and one of two intervening stops (a wavy bell rope), of the Egglescliffe inscription, are thus engraved (half size) in vol. III, p. 126, of the Newcastle-on-Tyne Antiquarian Proceedings:—*

The other stop is a bell. The same two stops occur at Raskelf. The only stop at Dunsforth is the bell. Haughton-le-Skerne tenor has neither cross nor stop, but has the bell on its waist. At Greystoke there was evidently no room for any stop. Nothing has yet come to light to shew where these bells were cast. The chief difficulty in deciphering the Greystoke inscription arises from the contraction of some of the words, and from the uncertainty attaching to some of the letters, especially those of black-letter type. In the following attempt to group the letters and expand the contracted words I must reluctantly leave a gap:—

+ CANONICVS DOMINVS COLLEGII MAGISTER . . . . . PAROCHIALIS ECCLESIÆ WILELMVS ME FABRICARE FACIT ERASMVS SVM SONO QVINTVS.

The word or words required to fill the gap I do not see how to extract from the letters in the fac-simile, as I read them, INHENV. Some persons, however, who have examined the rubbing, read these letters differently; so

* For loan of the block I am indebted to Mr. R. Blair, F.S.A., Hon. Sec. of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries.

differently

differently indeed that the only one which has caused no diversity of opinion is the E. Especially provocative of variety of opinion is that which I read as H. As to their meaning no two persons are agreed. Nor does any interpretation of them which I have yet heard, or which I have myself hazarded, seem to me to be satisfactory. I do not even feel sure of the correctness of the reading COLLEGII MAGISTER; the letter immediately preceding the gap not looking like R. But, whatever it looks like, most persons who have examined it think it must have been intended for R. Provisionally assuming it to be so, let it be further assumed that the whole of the sentence preceding WILELMVS is William's designation; about which more presently. Meanwhile be it noticed that the bell has a name which one would like to believe was derived from the most famous of the men by whom it has been borne. There are on record instances of bells, even in remote times, bearing names other than those of calendar saints, *e.g.*, at Ely cathedral, where the treble of a now extinct ring, cast in the 14th century, was called "Walsynghame" after the prior (Raven's *Cambridgeshire Bells*, p. 7); and since at Greystoke castle there is a portrait, by Holbein, of Erasmus, who is known to have been a friend of Henry, Lord Surrey, ancestor of the present lord of Greystoke manor, a momentary hope arises that the Greystoke second bell may have been named in memory of the great scholar. But we have here a coincidence more interesting than important, since the Howards, who brought the portrait to Greystoke castle, did not themselves come there, and had nothing whatever to do with the place until the end of the 16th century, too late to be assigned as a possible date for the bell. What date, then, may be assigned to the bell? "Wilelmus", if we did but know his life and times, would be our best guide in this matter. This much we do know of him, supposing I have rightly interpreted the bell inscription, that he was "canonicus dominus collegii

collegii magister". Assuming him, then, to have been master of the "college of secular canons" founded at Greystoke in 1382, we seem to need nothing but a reference to a list of the masters of Greystoke college in order to identify our man. But no such list has yet been found. There is incidental mention of some of the masters, viz: Gilbert Bowett, appointed as first master in 1382; Adam de Aglionby, known to have been master here in 1420, but when appointed there is nothing to show; Thomas Eaglesfield, who, says Jefferson (*Leath Ward*, p. 357), "occurs 1440": Richard Wryght, whose undated tombstone is in the church; Walter Redman, "qui obiit", according to his epitaph, "a' dni mccccix"; William Husband, who "occurs 1518"; Thomas Bowerbank, who "occurs 1520"; John Whelpdale, LL.D., who died, as appears from his epitaph, in 1526; and "Johes Dacre Magister Collegii de Graystok ac Rector ejusdem", mentioned in the "Survey of Ecclesiastical Rights", which was taken in 26 Henry VIII, A.D. 1535. John Dacre was the last master. William Husband, who "occurs 1518", may possibly have been a friend or at least an admirer of Erasmus. But if it was he who, as the bell says, "me fabricare facit", he must have done so during the lifetime of Erasmus, who died in 1536; which seems unlikely. But, indeed, I have no sort of idea that this bell was named after Desiderius Erasmus, and have only gone thus far into the question for the satisfaction of any who might be unwilling to have so interesting an hypothesis summarily discarded. I believe that our William, should he ever turn up among the masters of Greystoke college, will be found between Gilbert Bowett and Adam de Aglionby, *i.e.*, in the period from 1382 to 1420. But at this stage the bell itself lifts up its voice in a call to suspense of judgment:—SONO QVINTVS. How has it come to pass that a bell which was once the fifth is now the second? This difficulty starts several questions, which shall receive due

due consideration when I presently deal collectively with the ring. Meanwhile I must here propound one of these questions, viz:—May not our William, no matter how many Williams may have been masters of the college of Greystoke, have been master of some other college, and the bell now under notice not have been cast for Greystoke, but transferred thither at some unknown time from the church to which it originally belonged? This is possible, and will have to be considered. But, whatever its history, I adhere to the opinion that it was cast at about the beginning of the 15th century. And what of its name? Well, there are two saints named Erasmus in the calendar; one of whom, the most likely of the two to be the object of our search, suffered martyrdom at Formiæ in the year 303 during the persecution under Diocletian. He is represented as standing bound to a tree, whilst his bowels are being drawn out by a windlass. "This saint is corruptly called St. Elmo, for Ermo, the abbreviation of Erasmus; and he was usually invocated by sailors in the Mediterranean" (Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, vol. 1, p. 724). Dr. Raven, formerly of Great Yarmouth, writes to me:—"Erasmus was a favourite saint in Norfolk. We have him, with his windlass, at Hempstead, St. Michael's at Plea, Buckenham, Sandringham, and Norwich Museum; and I dare say he was equally in repute in other parts of England, as were others of Diocletian's victims. I never found him on a bell." As a patron of sailors St. Erasmus would naturally be held in repute by Englishmen; and I incline to think that he has at last been found upon an English bell.

At Greystoke there are no old churchwardens' accounts, as at some other places, to enable us to connect the story of the bells with that of the parish. But in Lord William Howard's Housebook, published in 1878 by the Surtees Society, there is incidental mention of a peal rung in Greystoke church tower on an occasion of more than local interest

interest which is of value as helping to set at rest a much disputed question. It was long unknown where Lord William, Sir Walter Scott's "Belted Will", was buried. As he lived at Naworth Castle it was taken for granted that he died there; but his tomb could nowhere be found. Sir Walter, by the way, by a bold flight of imagination, brings Lord William Howard into personal contact with the famous man whose name has been noticed on the Greystoke tenor:—

> A wrathful man was Dacre's lord,
> But calmer Howard took the word.
> * * * * * * *
> Ill could the haughty Dacre brook
> His brother-warden's sage rebuke:
> And yet his forward step he staid,
> And slow and sullenly obeyed.
> But ne'er again the Border side
> Did these two lords in friendship ride;
> And this slight discontent, men say
> Cost blood upon another day.

Which discontent between those two lords Sir Walter should have been slow to impute, as they were allied by family ties, Lord William Howard's wife being his alleged comrade's great-grand-daughter. Let us, however, welcome as a symbol of reconciliation the recorded fact of the bell cast in memory of Thomas de Dacre being rung for the funeral of Belted Will:—

> 1640, October 8, To five menne for ringinge the bells in Graystock Church at my Lord's buriall xxs (Ld Wm. Howard's Housebook, p. 354).

Thus, as the editor of the housebook says (*Introduction*, p. lxiv), "all doubt is removed as to the place of his sepulture; at Greystoke castle he died, and in Greystoke church he found a grave." But his grave, though since the publication of his housebook search has been made for it,

it, is not yet identified. If the item of payment to "five menne" is to be taken as indicating that Greystoke church had five bells in 1640, then we must conclude that one of them disappeared between that time and 1704, in which latter year Bishop Nicolson found only four bells in the tower. Nor had Edward VI's commissioners in 1552 found more than four bells at Greystoke *(ante*, VIII, 202). Yet, if "Erasmus" was originally cast for Greystoke, there must at some time or other have been at least five bells in Greystoke church tower. A fifth bell in 1640, supposing the five men who rang for Lord William Howard's funeral to indicate that there were then five bells, throws no light on this question, as it must have come and gone between 1552 and 1704, since the four which still remain, being all of earlier date than 1552, must be identical with the "iiij gret belles" of Edward VI's Inventory. Looking, then, to Erasmus' present position, according to the modern rule of numbering, second in the descending scale, if it was ever "quintus" at Greystoke, and if the same rule of numbering held good when it was cast, we must infer that there was once in the tower a ring of at least six, three of which were trebles above "Katerina", with "Andreas" as tenor; the present tenor, which is dated 1524, being a later addition. When did those three trebles, supposing them once to have existed, disappear? Did Henry VIII's "visitors" take them? Well, Greystoke church, being collegiate, had a narrow escape, at the dissolution of colleges, from losing all its bells, and everything else it possessed. "It was disputed whether the church did continue rectorial, or the rectory and profits thereof became vested in the crown by the said dissolution. For the incumbent it was alleged that he was possessed by presentation, admission, institution, and induction; that the church was indeed made collegiate, but it was by the pope's authority only; that they had no common seal, and therefore were not a legal

legal corporation. Judgment was given against the king; and the church continued rectorial and parochial" (Burn and Nicolson, ii, 363). Under these circumstances Greystoke was more likely to gain than to lose a bell through the proceedings of the king's visitors; and, indeed, if its present second bell was ever "quintus" in some other church, the year of the dissolution (1538) was the most probable date of its transference to Greystoke church tower. The bells of Shap Abbey are traditionally believed to have been distributed among neighbouring churches; one of them is said to be now at Kirkbythore (Whellan, p. 753), and another at Orton (*ante*, vi, 84). The bell of the "late ffreers in Applebye" was bought by "Xpofer Crackenthropp of Newbigging esquyer"; that of the "late howse of the ffreers in Penrithe" by "Richarde Wasshingtone besyde Kendal"; and "one of the thre bells pteyning to the late sell of Wetheral came to Carlysle which bell was hanged upon the wall called Springoll Tower to call the workmen to work" (*ante*, vi, 434-5). The late town clock bell at Carlisle is supposed to have belonged until the dissolution to St. Alban's chapel (Jefferson, p. 149). Thus we see how the bells of despoiled abbeys, chantries, and religious houses, were dispersed at the dissolution. It mattered not to the king's visitors what became of them, so that the money derived from their sale went into the royal treasury. Hence it happened that many of them were not melted down, but were bought for ecclesiastical or secular use. The then rector of Greystoke, John Dacre, might have sufficient influence with his kinsman, the lord of Greystoke manor, to induce him to purchase one of the confiscated bells for his church. This hypothesis must not be set aside without examination. One of the reasons for entertaining it is that some campanologists contend that anciently bells were numbered in ascending, and not, as now, in descending scale; and, if Erasmus was ever "quintus" at Greystoke in ascending scale, the ring, with three

three tenors below Andreas, would have been an exceptionally heavy one for a Cumberland church. There is evidence that some ancient rings were numbered in ascending scale. Such was the case at Ely (Raven, p. 7) and at Exeter (Ellacombes' *Exeter Cathedral Bells*, p. 15). But a few instances will not prove it to have been the rule; and it seems unlikely that a fixed rule of this kind should have got turned upside down. It is more likely that, until change-ringing began to be thought of, there was no fixed rule. Evidently there was no fixed rule in 1552, since Edward VI's inventories (see *Berks*, p. 9, and *Herts*, p. 60), when they indicate first bell, second bell, &c., and add the weights, sometimes begin with the treble, sometimes with the tenor. I am disposed, then, to think that "Erasmus", if at any time fifth bell at Greystoke, was fifth in descending scale. Another reason for supposing this bell to have originally hung elsewhere is that it has been more clipped round the verge, for the purpose of sharpening, than any other bell I have ever seen; which shews that, when first placed in Greystoke tower, it must have been considerably out of tune with Andreas and Katerina. But it is doubtful whether anyone in mediæval times, when furnishing a church tower with bells, cared anything at all about the scale. In the inventories of 1552 we meet with entries of this kind: "thre belles of one chyme" at Brimpton (*Berks*, p. 8); "iiij belles of one rynge" at Much Malden (*Herts*, p. 70); the apparently exceptional character of which entries seems to imply that for the most part the bells of that time were not in harmony. Nor was there the same necessity as in later times for them to be in harmony, each bell having anciently its separate use; for minute injunctions on which subject see Bp. Grandison's *Statutes* directing the use to which each bell at Ottery St. Mary was to be put (Ellacombe's *Exeter Cathedral Bells*, p. 12). Another reason for questioning whether the bell is *in situ*, viz, that it is evidently not

not from the same foundry as the two bells between which it now hangs, would have more weight if, in order to maintain that it was cast for Greystoke, it were necessary to assume that it was cast at the same time as Andreas and Katerina. That there did once hang between these two bells another which was cast at the same time and at the same foundry is likely enough. But it may have become cracked, and Erasmus may have been cast at another foundry to replace it. Dr. Raven, in his letter to me, referring to Erasmus, says:—"I read the lettering much as you do, only wondering whether the words may be 'fabrica (for *fabrice*) refacit'; which would open up a long history of the peal". Whether this be the correct reading or not, it still may be true that the original bell has been recast. Assuming this to have been the case, but by no means insisting on the accuracy of the inferences I draw from it, I will conclude with a conjectural "history of the peal". At some time during the first twenty years of the fifteenth century the tower was rebuilt, and furnished with six bells, each bearing the name of one of the six chantry saints. It was a likely time for a work of this kind to be done in the diocese of Carlisle, which from 1400 to 1419 was presided over by a tower-building and campanistic bishop, William de Strickland, who raised the tower of Carlisle cathedral "a medietate ad summum", placing therein "quatuor magnas campanas", built a tower at Rose Castle, and added what was called the "bishop's tower" to Penrith castle. No need to suppose that he either built the tower of Greystoke church or gave the bells. Indeed it seems that Katerina and Andreas were given by T. Auckland and Rt. Edmundson. It is enough to know that Bishop Strickland in such matters set an example, and would be sure to encourage similar works. The fifth bell, however, in descending scale, of the new Greystoke ring, was either from the first in some way defective or soon got cracked, and "Wilelmus magis-

ter

ter collegii" had it recast, not however by its original founder. For reasons best known to himself he changed its name. It was a deal too flat; which, however, until change-ringing came into vogue in the 17th century, would be of no consequence. Lord William Dacre, on the death of his father, wishing to put up something to his memory in Greystoke church, consigned the three trebles, which may have become cracked and useless, to the furnace of Ihon Tornor, who recast them into the present tenor, and also tuned what had previously been the fifth bell, but was now become the second.

I do not, as I have already intimated, ask or expect assent to conjectures, which further research is as likely to disprove as to sustain; it matters not which, so that they serve the purpose of suggesting inquiry; and I can only hope that what I have written may be not without value to some more competent campanologist who may hereafter undertake to tell more completely the story of the Greystoke bells.

There are here the usages of 8 a.m. Sunday bell, and death knell without "tellers."

In vol. III, p. 130, of the Newcastle-on-Tyne Antiquarian Proceedings there is the following note.—"In 1876 Mr. G. Ferguson of Middleton-in-Teesdale reported (*Arch. Æl.* vii, 142) that in 1854 there was a bell at Greystoke which had been brought from Patterdale. It was not to be found in 1860. It was inscribed in Lombardics of the 15th century :—

+ (two v's interlaced like an old w) ABC (mark of one v) DEFGHIK. The D and Lombardic H were upside down. I have not been able to obtain any further information about this bell. H.W.

ART. XIV.—*Keswick Town Clock Bell.* By the REV. H. WHITEHEAD.

Communicated at Ambleside, September 4th, 1889.

THIS bell, owing to its alleged antiquity, has become famous. The earliest mention of it that has come under my notice is in W. Scott's "Beauties of the Border", published in 1821. Mr. Scott, who evidently never saw it, or he would not have called it the "church bell", says, (p. 103):—

> The church bell at Keswick is of great antiquity bearing date AD 1001.

Whellan, in his History of Cumberland, published in 1860, speaking of Keswick Town Hall, which was erected in 1813 on the site of the Old Court House, says (p. 345):—

> The clock bell, which was taken from a building that formerly stood on Lord's Island in Derwent Lake, said to have been the manor house of the Earls of Derwentwater, has the letters and figures H D R O 1001 upon it; a decisive proof of its high antiquity.

The Old Court House or former Town Hall of Keswick is thus mentioned in Mr. Fisher Crosthwaite's pamphlet on "The Last of the Derwentwaters" (p. 15):—

> I found a memorandum among the papers of the late Jonathan Ottley, in which he made out that the former Town Hall of Keswick was built in 1695, and some of the materials were brought from the mansion on Lord's Island, and the ancient bell was then removed which is still in use.

In this connection it may be as well to notice that Hutchinson (II, 198), speaking of St. John's-in-the-Vale, says:—

> In the chapel is an old seat, with the date 1001 on the back of it. Tradition assigns that it was formerly in St. Herbert's chapel on the island in the lake.

This

This old seat, which is no longer extant, if brought from an island on the lake, more probably came from Lord's Island than from St. Herbert's; there having been for centuries no chapel on St. Herbert's Island. The mansion on Lord's Island is thus described by Mr. Crosthwaite :—

> The large and convenient house with gardens, orchards, and other conveniences, spoken of by the Rev. T. Robinson, was built by Sir Thomas Radcliffe sometime about 1450. The former residence was at Castlerigg. . . . Tradition says that the stones were taken away to build the Mansion on Lord's Island. . . . For many generations the Radcliffe family resided on the island. So late as 1623 Sir Edward Radcliffe is mentioned as having his Mansion on Lord's Island. . . . It is very probable that the house was dismantled during the civil war about the year 1651.

The town clock bell, then, if of date 1001, would have been originally at Castlerigg on the main land.

Dated ancient bells are rare in this country. The late Mr. T. North, F.S.A., in his "Church Bells of Bedfordshire" (p. 6) says:—

> A few early dated English bells have been found: one at S. Chad's, Claughton, Lancashire, is dated 1296; another at Cold Ashby, Northamptonshire, is dated 1317; two at South Somercotes, Lincolnshire, bear the date 1423; and two others at Sowerby in the same county tell us they were cast in the year 1431.

To these may be added the tenor at Thirsk, Yorkshire, on which is inscribed ANNO MILLENO QVATER CENTO QVOQVE DEN EST HÆC CAMPANA IESVS, and the treble at Holme Cultram, dated MILL.CCCC.LXV. From which it appears that the Keswick town clock bell, if the figures 1001 really stood for a date, would be by nearly three centuries the oldest known dated bell in England.

Its claim to be regarded as of such high antiquity is encountered by two objections.

I. The letters of its inscription are Roman capitals, and its figures Arabic, arranged in this way:—

H D 1001 R O

But

But were Arabic numerals used in this country at so early a date as the very beginning of the eleventh century? Mr. T. Wright, F.S.A., says:—

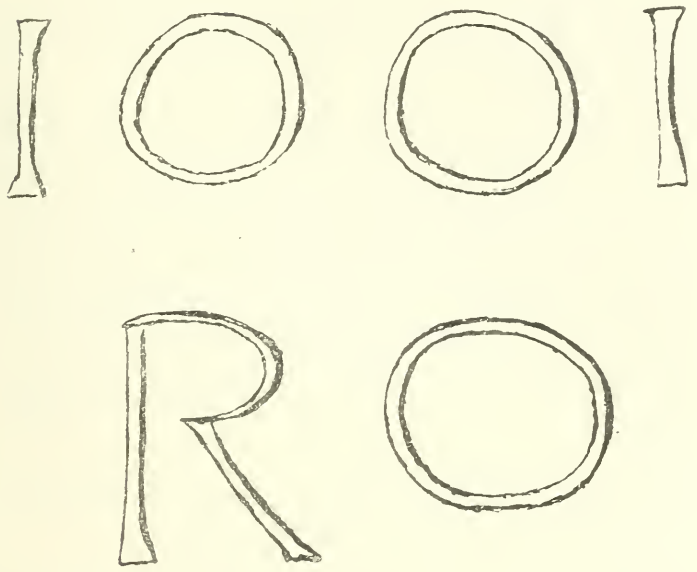
> It was only in the 14th century that these algorismic numerals became generally used in books, and it is not probable that they would be used in inscriptions on buildings till long afterwards. . . . Rare examples of inscriptions in these figures may occur in the 15th century; but even in the 16th, as is well known, the prejudice was strongly in favour of Roman capitals. (*British Archæological Journal*, vol. II, p. 72).

And if improbable in inscriptions on buildings until long after the fourteenth century, it is simply impossible in bell inscriptions of the very beginning of the eleventh century.

II. The shape of the bell is comparatively modern. Mr. Stahlschmidt, speaking of a bell at Chaldon, Surrey, which he describes as "very like a common flower pot", says he thinks "it may be certainly reckoned as not later in date than 1250, and from its archaic shape may well be much older" (*Surrey Church Bells*, p. 77). But there is nothing at all archaic about the shape of the Keswick bell. It is not even "long-waisted".

What explanation, then, can be given of the figures 1001, if they may not be regarded as indicative of a date? Some persons have suggested that the second figure was originally 6, and that some mischievous wag by means of a file has converted it into O. "The top of the 6 in 1601", writes one to me, "has been filed off, as I saw with my own eyes; and the resulting O is somewhat shorter than the genuine zero which follows". The accompanying illustration (full size) may seem to favour this opinion. But an engineer, with whom I examined the bell, for the express purpose of deciding this point, very confidently stated that the top of a 6 had not been filed off, and that the figure has always been O; which opinion, by the way, seems to be corroborated

roborated by the occurrence of the same figures on the old seat formerly in the chapel of St. John's-in-the-Vale.



Another explanation of these figures has been propounded, viz: that they indicate the 1001st bell cast by the founder. On which point it may be worth while to quote the following letter, signed Thomas Radcliffe, which appears in *Notes & Queries* of September 24, 1887:—

I bought the other day an old case clock of oak, which has an ornamented brass face. On a round sunk shield in the usual place is engraved roughly W BARNARD NEWARK 1061. The clock may be two hundred years old. I wish to know when W Barnard began business in Newark as a clockmaker, and when he finished. Also the number of clocks he made. Surely not 1061! That would be a work which in those days of hand labour would not be done in the lifetime of one business man. It seems to me probable that the number is intended for 161, or else the maker numbered the first clock he made 1001 (as some makers of articles do even now), in which case the clock in question would be the sixty first.

It

It would be almost as curious a coincidence if the Keswick bell and the St. John's old seat were each the first as it would be if each were the thousand and first specimen of the work of its maker. But indeed I doubt whether any founder ever adopted such a plan of numbering his bells.

The only other explanation, as far as I know, which anyone has given of the figures on the bell, is that the founder by some accidental mistake substituted O for 6 as the second figure. But here also, as with the other hypothesis, the matter is complicated by the old oak seat.

Now, whatever may be thought of these explanations, to none of which do I commit myself, I am decidedly of opinion, looking to its shape, that the bell is of no great antiquity; and it only remains to ascertain whether any clue to its age can be obtained from the initials which it bears.

I believe the initials R O to be those of the founder whose name occurs in the following entry in the churchwardens accounts of Haughton-le-Spring, Durham :—

> 1615, May 14 To Mr Robt Oldefeild bell-founder for casting of the litle bell xiiij^{li}.

This bell is no longer in existence. But the entry shews that Robert Oldfeild was casting bells for the north in the early years of the 17th century. He was probably connected with the Oldfeilds of York, one of whom, William, cast the Dacre treble in 1606 (*ante*, IX, 490); the initials W O and R O occur together on a shield on the 3rd bell at Broughton, Yorkshire, dated 1615 (Whitaker's *Craven*, Morant's edition, p. 114); and on the Castle Sowerby treble, dated 1586 (*ante*, IX, 486), are found the initials R O, somewhat larger than those at Keswick, which however they resemble in character, especially in the relative dimensions of the two letters. Mr. Stahlschmidt, in a letter to me, said :—

The

The Oldfields are a mysterious family. I have them at Canterbury, York, Nottingham, Hertford, and London; and there were besides three or four peripatetic ones with no apparent abodes at all.

My theory of Robert Oldfeild is that he was a member of the York firm, travelling at intervals during the period 1586-1615 as a peripatetic founder; and that in one of his peregrinations he cast what is now the Keswick town clock bell.

The initials H D are less easy to identify. It has by some been taken for granted that D must needs stand for Derwentwater. But during the period in which the bell was probably cast there was no such person as a Derwentwater. The initials, then, may be those of some steward or agent who gave the order for the bell to be cast; and his name might possibly be discovered in the archives of Greenwich Hospital.

ART. XV.—*Visitations of the Plague in Cumberland and Westmorland.* By HENRY BARNES, M.D., F.R.S.E. *Read at Ambleside, Sept. 4th,* 1889.

IN looking over some of the papers which have been read at previous meetings of this Society and published in the Transactions, I find incidental allusion to the prevalence of the plague in several districts of the two counties. In some of the papers, such as those dealing with parish registers, the existence of the plague in particular years has been inferred from the excessive mortality as compared with the usual average. No attempt, however, seems to have been made up to the present to give any general account of the local visitations. In the present paper I propose to review briefly what has been already brought under your consideration, to bring forward some references which have not hitherto been noticed, to record the evidence of each outbreak of the disease, so far as I have been able to obtain it, and in this way to furnish a contribution to the history of the local prevalence of the terrible scourge of the middle ages. I do not profess to give anything like a complete account of the subject. There are many gaps in the evidence which I have been able to accumulate, but I hope by directing attention to them I may be able to elicit from others some important contributions.

At the outset it may be asked, What was the plague? What kind of disease was it? It would be out of place to enter into any medical details. It may be sufficient to remark that among the various nationalities of antiquity and in the middle ages the word plague was used in its collective sense, and included the most various diseases that occurred in an epidemic form, ran an acute course, and showed a heavy mortality. It is in this sense I shall use the word in the present paper. Some of the local visitations,

visitations have no doubt been visitations of true oriental plague, a disease characterised by inflammatory boils and tumours of the glands, such as break out in no other febrile disease. On other occasions it may have been the sweating sickness, as I shall show that there is evidence of this having extended to the Borders. It is probable also that small-pox and typhus formed some of the epidemics and were included under the head of plague. It is, therefore, not possible to say from present records what particular form of disease prevailed in any given epidemic.

The literature of plagues is very extensive, and a fact of some antiquarian interest has come out recently in consequence of a claim put forward on behalf of a library in Boston that it contained as one of its choicest treasures the earliest medical book published in English, viz: The Birthe of Mankinde, set forth in English by Thomas Raynalde, Physitian, bearing date 1598. This claim was soon set aside, and among English medical works there are three of an earlier date which treat on epidemic pestilences. Bullein's "Dialogue on the Fever Pestilence" was published in 1564, and has recently been reprinted by the Early English Text Society. Dr. Caius' "Boke or Counseill against the Disease commonly called the Sweate or Sweatyng Sickness," was printed in 1552. But more than a century before the date of the American treasure a book was published in London. Its title is "A Passing Gode Lityll Boke, necessarye and behoveful against the Pestilence," published without printer's name or date but attributed to the press of William de Machlinia, in London about 1480. It is a small quarto tract of twelve leaves, and is translated from the Latin tract of Canute (sometimes called Kamintus and Ramicus), Bishop of Aarhus, in Denmark.*

While the chief interest in true plague rests in its widespread diffusion in the middle ages its history can be

* For these and other early works on the Plague see *Reliquiæ Hearnianæ*, vol. II, p. 117. By this author Ramicus is described as a Bishop in Dacia.

traced

traced back with tolerable certainty to the end of the third or the beginning of the second century of the pre-Christian era. Like leprosy, its home seems to have been in Egypt. It was not, however, until the sixth century that authentic records of its prevalence in Europe are to be found.*

It started from Lower Egypt in 542 A.D.† and spread over the whole of the Roman empire "from east to west, and even to the ends of the habitable world." It caused frightful devastation, depopulated towns, turned the country into a desert, and made the habitations of men to become the haunts of wild beasts. It is computed that this pandemic lasted about 60 years. It is not certain whether this was the first introduction of the true plague into Europe, but it is certain that it now got a firm hold and that it kept its dominion for more than a thousand years.

The earliest record of a local pestilence which I have been able to find carries us back to the time when S. Cuthbert visited Carlisle. In the recently published History of the Diocese of Carlisle, by Chancellor Ferguson, p. 42, a description of this visit is given. S. Cuthbert arrived at Carlisle about the time of the battle of Nechtansmere, A.D. 685. He preached on the Sunday after his arrival, and the burden of his discourse was, "Watch and Pray, Watch and Pray," which his hearers misapplied to the expected recurrence of a plague which had recently ravaged the district. A few days afterwards a solitary fugitive announced the result of the battle.

The chronicles of the middle ages contain numerous references to the prevalence of plague, or "*pestis*." In

* After the reading of this paper at Ambleside, Mr. Nanson adduced the great plague at Athens in B.C. 430 and 429 as a contradiction to this statement. This epidemic has given rise to much speculation. A German writer believes it to have been small-pox. Dr. Adams, the learned commentator of Hippocrates, thinks it was glandular plague, but most recent writers seem to agree in thinking it was typhus. The disease broke out during a siege, and there is no mention of glandular swellings in the graphic history of it given by Thucydides, which in most particulars corresponds with the typhus that appeared in later times during the siege of Saragossa.

† Hirsch's Handbook of Geographical and Historical Pathology, vol. I, p. 495.

that

that wonderful historical treasury, the Chronicle of Lanercost,* which deals with events which happened between A.D. 1201 and 1346, there are three references to plagues. On the first page, under date A.D. 1201, there is the following entry:—

In the same year in divers parts of the kingdoms there befel a great murrain of mankind and other animals, but most of all of sheep: of such a kind was this death and murrain as never before was seen.

In Hecker's "Epidemics of the Middle Ages," p. 5, it is recorded that as the plague spread it attacked not only men, but animals fell sick and shortly expired if they touched things belonging to the diseased or dead. It is stated that Boccacio saw two hogs on the rags of a person who had died of the plague, after staggering about for a short time, fall down dead as if they had taken poison. In other places multitudes of dogs, cats, fowls, and other animals fell victims to the disease.

At p. 85 of the Chronicle of Lanercost, there is an account of a "pestis" among cattle which prevailed in the Lothians in 1268. It was called "*Lunggesouth*," and was evidently a lung disease. The passage has often been quoted. The third reference will be found on page 240 It also records a plague among cattle, and seems worthy of being translated and quoted in extenso:—

At that time, A.D. 1319, the plague and murrain among the beasts which had raged for the two preceding years in the South, visited the North, and it attacked both oxen and cattle. And thus did it work that after a slight sickness they would die on a sudden and all together. Few beasts of that kind were left, and so for that year men had to plough with horses. Still men would eat of the beasts which died of the aforesaid sickness, and by the grace of God they felt no harm. At the same time, too, the fish of the sea were found dead on the shore in great numbers, but not a man did eat of them, nor any other animal nor bird. And furthermore in the South of England the

* Printed for the Maitland Club, Edinbnrgh, 1839.

birds

birds fought with each other most fiercely with one consent, and were found dead in great numbers. All these three wonders seemed to have happened for the punishment of sinners or as an omen of things to come.

This latter prophecy was soon fulfilled. Shortly after this period came the disastrous pestilence known everywhere under the name of the Black Death. It was one of the great events in the world's history; it extended over the whole of the then known world; it reckoned its victims by millions; and in England, some writers say, nine-tenths of the inhabitants were swept away. It has fixed the attention of writers in a high degree, and has been described in its minutest details. The starting point of the pestilence seems to have been in Eastern Asia. It was in Upper India in 1346; in Turkey and Greece in 1347, and from thence in the same year it spread to Italy and France. In 1348 it had devastated the whole of Italy, and in 1349 it had spread nearly all over middle Europe, England, Scotland, and Ireland. Hecker estimates the number of those who perished in Europe at twenty-five millions, or about one-fourth of the then population of our division of the globe. There are no data given for the formation of this opinion, and much diversity of opinion exists as to the mortality of the period.

Until recently it has been impossible to draw any accurate conclusions as to the real death rate during the epidemic. It has remained to an English country parson to let in a glimmer of daylight on this subject. It occurred to Dr. Jessopp, the well-known rector of Scarning, that if the incidence of the Black Death was as fatal as it is represented to have been, there must remain among local records documentary evidence of value from which information regarding the mortality of that terrible year could be obtained, and in the Book of the Institutions of the Clergy of the Diocese of Norwich, and the Court Rolls of some of the Manors of the

the district, he obtained some striking facts. Going over these documents he summarises his conclusions as follows :—

I see no other conclusion to arrive at but one, namely, that during the year ending March 1350 more than half the population of East Anglia was swept away by the Black Death. If any one should suggest that more than half died, I should not be disposed to quarrel with him.

I have made enquiries as to any documentary evidence of a similar character in these two counties but as yet without any good result. Some interesting facts have been brought out by Dr. Jessopp's enquiries, and it would be of great value if any documentary records of a similar character in Cumberland and Westmorland could be brought to light. There can be little doubt that the two counties shared the same fate as the rest of England, but the local histories contain no reference to the visitation. The following extract, which I take from Guthrie's History of Scotland, vol. III, p. 49, will show that I have good grounds for the belief that the Black Death epidemic visited this district, as the Scottish army on emerging from the forest of Selkirk would more probably enter England by the western route, rather than by the road by Berwick.

The hand of heaven was so severe upon the Scots during the year 1349 and 1350 that they furnish little of historical matter. A most dreadful plague had passed from the Continent of Europe to England, and the Scots wantonly indulged the innate hatred they bore their enemies by enjoying their calamities, and even endeavouring to render them subservient to their revenge. This ferocity, though unjustifiable, was natural to a people so provoked and oppressed, as the Scots had long been by the English ; but it proved fatal at the same time. They had appointed a rendezvous in the forest of Selkirk, to avail themselves of the mortality which was then desolating England. Scarcely had they passed the borders, when they were seized by the pestilence. Five thousand of them dropt down dead, and many were cut off by the enemy who had found means to draw a considerable body to the field. This barbarous invasion furnished Edward with new

new matter of complaint and his subjects, in their turn, made fresh irruptions into Scotland, where they reinforced their garrisons. The few Scots who returned from the invasion communicated the pestilence to their countrymen (one-third of whom, according to Fordun,* perished). The patient's flesh swelled excessively and he died in two days illness, but the same author tells. That the mortality chiefly affected the middle and lower ranks of the people.

Thirty years later there is evidence that plague was again in Cumberland. It is recorded that in 1380 the Scots, unmindful of their experience during the black death epidemic, made an inroad into Cumberland under the Earl of Douglas. They surprised Penrith at the time of a fair and returned with immense booty, but they suffered severely in consequence, for they introduced into their country the plague contracted in this town. There is no local record of the ravages of this pestilence in Penrith, but most of the local histories which mention the outbreak refer to the severity with which it overtook the invaders. In Pennant's Tour of Scotland, quoted by Hutchinson, History of Cumberland, vol. I, p. 327, it is said that one-third of the inhabitants of Scotland were swept away. Jefferson, in his History of Leath Ward, p. 13, in describing this invasion tells us the Scots passed by Carlisle in the summer of 1380, and laid waste the forest of Inglewood, where, according to Dr. Todd, they seized 4000 cattle. They entered Penrith on a market-day, killed many of the inhabitants, took away much spoil and many prisoners.

They are supposed to have taken away with them also the infection of a pestilence then raging in the neighbourhood, and from which Holinshed says a third of the inhabitants of Scotland died.

These two reports of a third of the inhabitants of Scotland having died from the plague in this particular year have evidently come from the same source, and as I showed

* I have verified this reference. It will be found in Fordun's Scotichronicon, vol. IV, p. 1039. He speaks of the plague visiting Scotland in 1350. The cruelty of it was so great "ut fere tercia pars generis humani naturæ debitum solvere compelleretur."

when

when speaking of the Black Death, that the mortality then was estimated at one-third of the people, it seemed to me doubtful that within thirty years another epidemic of a like magnitude should have occurred. This doubt was increased when I found no mention in Fordun of the second pestilence. In looking up the reference in Holinshed, I find that three words have been omitted by those who have mentioned this epidemic, which shows that the statement of the mortality is too sweeping. These three words are "where it came," and probably the pestilence was not so widespread as the Black Death epidemic. Holinshed's* account is as follows (The historie of Scotland, p. 246) :—

William Earle of Dowglas came with twentie thousand men to the faire of Pennire within England, and spoiled all the goods found as then in the same faire and so returned with great riches into Scotland; but the Scotishmen smallie rejoised at this gains, for with such cloth and other wares as they brought awaie with them from the foresaid faire, they drew into the countrie such a violent and sore pestilence that the third part of all the people (where it came) died thereof. This was the third time that the pestilence was knowne to have doone anie great hurt in Scotland, being the yeere after the incarnation 1380.

It appears from another part of Holinshed's Chronicle that this invasion was prompted by feelings of revenge. At p. 428 vol. III, part 1, he says :—

The Scots could not rest in quiet, but in revenge for a ship, which the townesmen of Newcastell and Hull had taken on the sea, knowing them to be pirates, determined to doe what mischiefe they could unto the English borders: for the losse of that ship grieued them because it was esteemed to be verie rich. . . . . Entring by the west borders they inuaded and spoiled the countries of Westmerland and Cumberland and comming into the forest of Inglewood they took awaie with them such a number of beasts and cattell that they were reckoned at fourtie thousand heads of one and another. Besides this they cruellie slue all such as they could laie hands upon, and burnt up all

* Holinshed gives account of three invasions of the plague in Scotland. The first was in the 31st year of the reign of Alexander the Third (p. 203); the second was the black death, 1350—so vehement and contagious that it slew nearhand the third part of all the people (p. 242); and the third the epidemic of 1380.

the

the townes, villages and houses as they passed: and not content herewith, they stole upon the towne of Penreth, when the faire was kept there, slaieing, taking and chasing awaie the people, and after gathering togither all the goods and riches there found, tooke it awaie with them, whereof there was such plentie as might haue satisfied the couetous desire of a most greedie armie.

From the date of this invasion, and to it we owe our knowledge of the existence of the outbreak of plague at this time, until the year 1554 when plague broke out at Penrith and Kendal, I have no local records of any plague visitations. Several such visitations, however, did occur, and, as some of them reached the border district, it may be of use if I briefly refer to those which are best known, in order that those who are interested in such enquiries may be able to fill up the evidence of such local visitations. Holinshed vol. III, part i, p. 704 describes a great pestilence not only in London but in divers parts of the realm in 1479, in which innumerable people died. The sweating sickness, as it was called, was the most notable epidemic during the latter part of fifteenth and the early part of the sixteenth centuries. It was a violent inflammatory fever, and very fatal. Five distinct epidemics of it occurred. It is thus described:—*

For suddenly a deadly burning sweate so assailed their bodies and distempered their blood with a most ardent heat, that scarce one amongst an hundred that sickened did escape with life; for all in manner as soone as the sweat tooke them or within a short time after, yielded the ghost.

This disease broke out immediately after the battle of Bosworth on the 22nd August, 1485, and thinned the ranks of Henry's victorious army, spreading in a few weeks from the distant mountains of Wales to the Metropolis, where two Lord Mayors and six aldermen died in one week.† By the end of the year it had spread over the whole of England and was equally fatal everywhere. The

* Holinshed, vol. iii, p. 482.
† Hecker's Epidemics of the Middle Ages, p. 182.

second

second visitation took place in 1506. Seven years before, viz: in 1499, there had been a fearful visitation of the plague in London which carried off 30,000 people, and the memory of the sweating sickness of 1485 had become gradually obliterated. Its second appearance does not seem to have been so severe, and was more amenable to treatment. The third visitation began in July, 1517. It lasted full six months and spread from London over the whole of England. Scotland and Ireland, and all places beyond the sea were spared on this occasion. The disease was so rapid and violent in its course that it carried off those who were attacked in two or three hours, so that the first shivering fit was regarded as the commencement of certain death. Many who were in good health at noon were numbered among the dead at evening. Hancock says in his autobiography :—

God plaged thys realme justly for our sinns with three notable plages. The first was the posting swet, that posted from town to town through England, and was named *stope gallant*, for hytt spared none, for ther were dawncyng in the courte at 9 o'clocke that were deadd at 11 o'clocke.

This quaint name is taken from the French, and the epidemic which ravaged France in 1528 was named *trousse gallant*, because it chiefly attacked young men.* At the latter end of May in the year 1528 the sweating sickness again broke out in England and rapidly spread over the whole kingdom. This outbreak brought a scare upon all the nations of Northern Europe scarcely equalled in any other epidemic. Public business was postponed, the courts were closed, and four weeks after the pestilence broke out the festival of St. John was stopped, to the great sorrow of the people. The King left London immediately, and endeavoured to avoid the epidemic by continual travelling. A great many lives were lost in this epidemic, and by some

* In the same grotesque spirit the plague was called the jolly rant at Newcastle. Vide Brand vol. ii, p. 494.

writers

writers it has been called *the great mortality*. The last epidemic of the sweating sickness which occurred in England broke out on the 15th April, 1551, at Shrewsbury. It gradually spread, with stinking mists, all over England as far as the Scottish borders, and terminated on the 30th September. The mists are thus described :—

> Which unite in the countrie when it began, was sene flie from towne to towne with such a stinke in mornings and evenings, that men could scarcely abide it.

The deaths throughout the kingdom were very numerous, so that one historian actually calls it a depopulation. The malady attacked all ranks of life and raged with equal violence in the foul huts of the poor and in the palaces of the nobility. The very remarkable observation was made in this year that the sweating sickness uniformly spared foreigners in England, and on the other hand followed the English into foreign countries.

There are no local records of any of these epidemics that have come under my observation, but I think it quite possible that some mention of the last epidemic may turn up in some of the older parish registers. In the Uffcolme registers,* Devon, the *stop gallant* or *hote sickness* is mentioned, and in Lougbborough register, county Leicester, is the following entry: The swat called *new acquaintance*, alias *stoupe knave and know thy master*, began 24th June. As the duty of keeping parish registers was not established until September 29, 1538, when a royal injunction was issued by Cromwell, Vicar-General, this last epidemic of the sweating sickness is the only one which is likely to be recorded in parish registers. Subsequent to this period, epidemics of true plague frequently occurred, and important evidence of its local prevalence is found in many of the local registers. Throughout the sixteenth century the

* Parish Registers in England, by Robt. Edward Charles Waters, B.A. (1882), p. 72.

plague

plague was a permanent form of disease on the Continent of Europe, and scarcely a year passed without an epidemic occurring in some country. The Calendar of State Papers, (Domestic) contain hundreds of references to it, but there are few of local interest. There are several entries of antidotes.* Thus M. de Brummen to Sec. Walsingham.

I send you three little cushions of arsenic, to be hung round the neck, and rest about the heart, as preservatives against the plague, for you, madam, and mademoiselle. They have done great good in Italy, France, and Germany.

The first great local epidemic of which we have full record is the one in 1597-98, but from a statement in the Penrith register, which commenced about this period, it appears that the disease was in Penrith and Kendal in 1554. The Hawkshead registers have an entry under date Nov. 18, 1577: A "pestilent sickness" was "brought into the parish" by "one George Barwicke" and 38 of the inhabitants died. (C. & W. A. & A. Trans. vol. IV., p. 35). In the Penrith register there are several entries which appear to have been copied from an earlier register. Among the entries are the following:—

Liber Registerii de Penrith scriptus in anno dni 1599
Anno regni regine Elizabethe 41
Proper nots worth keeping as followethe
Floden feild was in anno dni 15 . .
Comotion in these north parts 1536
St. George day dyd fall on Good Friday
Queene Elizabethe begene her rainge 1558
Plague was in Penrith and Kendal 1554
Sollome mose was in the yere . . . .
Rebellion in the North Parts by the two Earls of Northumberland & Westmorland & Leonard Dacres in the year of our lord god 1569 & the 9th day of November

* It was not uncommon at this period to wear amulets containing poisons. They were "hung round the neck and worn upon the breast, aud were supposed to have a hidden power and secret virtue to defend the breast from the venom of the pestilence."—See Tracts vol. VIII, S. ii. 22, in Dean and Chapter Library.

A sore plague was in London notinghome Derbie & lincolne in the year 1593

A sore plagne in new castle. durrome & Dernton in the yere of our lord god 1597

A sore plague in Richmond Kendal Penreth Carliell Apulbie & other places in Westmorland and Cumberland in the year of our lord god 1598 of this plague ther dyed at Kendal

The above entries are copied from Jefferson's Leath Ward, p. 19. After the last entry he states that there are a few more words, now very indistinct. and the remainder of the page is cut or torn off.

I have not been able to find any further reference to the plague at Penrith and Kendal in 1554. An examination of the Calendar of State papers shows that plague was in many parts of England as well as of the Continent of Europe about this period, but it was not until 1592 that the first of a series of great plagues broke out in London. This series culminated in the terrible pestilence of 1665. In the Dean and Chapter Library at Carlisle there is a volume of tracts* (Tracts, vol. S, S. ii., 22) on the plague. It contains several pamphlets dealing with the several outbreaks which took place between 1593 and 1665. One of the tracts bears the name of Dr. Thomas Smyth, and it is probable that it was by his directions the tracts were bound together. From one of these pamphlets I gather that in the epidemic of 1592-93, there were in London and liberties 11,503 deaths from plague. In order to obtain correct returns weekly bills of mortality were instituted, and were continued for three years. Their publication was then suspended, but resumed in 1603 when the second great visitation broke out and 30561 deaths were recorded. The third visitation followed in 1625 and numbered 35417

*Bound up with the tracts there are several printed proclamations and order, relating to the plague. There are also some MSS. orders of Quarter Sessions relating to the plague at Durham. Having obtained the permission of the Chapter I have copied these orders and forwarded them to the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries.

victims,

victims, and the fourth in 1636 when 10400 persons died. In the great plague of 1665 I find from a tabular statement compiled for the owner of the pamphlets and written in ink, there were about 70000 deaths from the plague.* It may be useful to bear these dates and figures in mind in connection with local visitations.

The first great local epidemic, as before stated, began in 1597-98. It probably reached Cumberland from Newcastle. Lord Hunsdon, writing to Cecil from Berwick, 8 Aug. 1570 says :—The plage is very sorry at Newcastle. 1576, again at Newcastle. The sick poor were sent out of the town and encamped on the waste grounds, 1588-89. Again at Newcastle from May 1588 to 1 January 1589-90, 1727 persons died. Business of the town was at a standstill. In 1587 it raged at Durham. In 1593 plague again at Newcastle. In 1596 plague still in Newcastle. From about the 19th August the deaths gradually increased in numbers, and the people appear to have fallen down and died in the streets, but in the autumn of 1597 it obtained its greatest rampancy so that the Judges adjourned the Assizes from Durham and Northumberland.

Our Transactions contain reference to an unusual mortality at this period at Carlisle, Penrith, Kendal, Gosforth, Crosthwaite, Great Orton, Holme Cultram, and St. Bees, and, in some instances, extracts from parish registers are given to show the extent of the pestilence. It broke out at Penrith on the 22nd September, 1597, and continued

* In connection with these outbreaks it may be of interest to remember that certain trades were supposed to confer an immunity from attack. It is recorded that at Derby it never entered the house of a tanner, tobacconist or shoemaker, and Hearne remarks in his *Reliquiæ Hearnianæ*, vol. II, p. 17, that "in the last great plague at London none that kept tobacconists' shops had the plague. It is certain that smoaking it was looked upon as a most excellent preservative. In so much that even children were obliged to smoak. And I remember, that I heard formerly Tom Rogers, who was yeoman beadle, say, that when he was that year, when the plague raged, a school-boy at Eton, all the boys of that school were obliged to smoak in the school every morning, and that he was never whipped so much in his life as he was one morning for not smoaking."

until

until December 13th, 1598. At that time William Wallis was vicar of Penrith. He notes the beginning of the pestilence in the parish register, as follows :—

1597. 22nd day of September Andrew Hodgson a foreigner was buried. Here begonne the plague (God's punishment in Perith). All those that are noted with the P dyed of the infection, and those noted with F were buried on the fell.

On December 13, 1598, is the entry :—

Here endeth the Visitation.

The foreigner most probably introduced the disease into the district and became the first victim of what must have been a disastrous calamity. At first the disease was confined to a few families, of which the most part, if not all, were swept away in a few days. Here are a few entries of interest :—

1597. The 14th day of October Elizabeth daughter of John Railton buried
The 24th day John Railton miller buried
The 1st day of November Mabel the wife of John Railton buried
The 5th day Elizabeth Railton buried
The 10th day son of Thomas Hewer buried
The 12th day Margaret daughter of Thomas Hewer buried
On the same day Thomas Hewer was buried
On the 23rd day Catherine daughter of Thomas Hewer buried

On the 27th of May in the following year thirteen burials are entered ; on the 11th of August there were seventeen, and on the 2nd of September twenty-two entries.

There is an interesting record of this great epidemic in an inscription on the wall of the chancel of Penrith Church, and the same inscription is repeated on a modern brass plate. During some recent restorations a portion of the inscription in the chancel has been covered up, but copies of it have been published. It is as follows :—

A.D.

A.D. MDXCVIII.
Ex gravi peste, quod regionibus hisce incubuit, obierunt apud
Penrith 2260
Kendal 2500
Richmond 2200
Carlisle 1196
Posteri
Avertite vos et vivite.—Ezek. xviii., 32.

There is no date to the inscription, and no name to show by whom it was placed there. I notice that in Chancellor Ferguson's History of the Diocese of Carlisle, Penrith Church was rebuilt during last century, and I think that probably the inscription was drawn up at the time of the rebuilding, and the figures taken from an older inscription, which, according to Bishop Nicolson, was on the church in his day. At p. 154 of the Miscellany Accounts of the Diocese of Carlisle, there occurs the following:—

On the outside of the North Wall of the Vestry, in a rude and slovenly Character:

Pestis fuit, Aº. 1598 unde moriebantur apud Kendal 2500, Richmond 2200, Penrith 2266, Karliol 1196.

In this older inscription the order of the places is changed and Penrith is credited with six more deaths. In Gibson's Camden, p. 842 this same inscription is noticed. The author gives a translation of the words, the same figures as Nicolson, speaks of the rude characters of the writing and says the "passage is the more observable and worth our notice, because not to be met withal in our Histories." Much speculation has taken place with regard to the numbers on this inscription. Only 583 deaths are recorded in the Penrith register. The greater number of those who perished during the pestilence were buried in a common trench or grave on the fell; some were buried in the church yard, some in the school-house yard, and some in their own gardens. Whellan (History of Cumberland and Westmorland, p. 596) suggests that the numbers

numbers on the register represent only those who were buried in the churchyard or school-house yard. Walker, in his History of Penrith, thinks the numbers on the inscription may be taken as the aggregate of other parishes in the neighbourhood, and the same idea is put forward in a footnote published in Hutchinson's History of Cumberland, vol. I, p. 326. The Rev. H. Whitehead, who has devoted much attention to parish registers, has suggested a very reasonable explanation of this difficulty. He believes that the rural deaneries of those names are meant. We know that the disease prevailed very extensively in the neighbouring parishes. The Rev. Thomas Lees, F.S.A., in his account of the Greystoke registers (vol. I, p. 342, of Society's Transactions) says that, under date November 14, 1578:—

> The same day was buried Margaret Sle of Hutton John wch child was suspected to dye of the plague.

The average mortality of the parish rose from 45 to 182 in 1597, and of this year the first seventeen days were wanting. At the same period the pestilence was severe at Kirkoswald. Jefferson, in his History of Leath Ward, p. 273, says that in 1597 forty-two persons died of the pestilence, and in 1598 it numbered 583 victims. Through the kindness of Canon Ransome, I have had the opportunity of examining the Kirkoswald register, and I submit that there are no entries to warrant the belief that such an extensive pestilence prevailed. In $159\frac{2}{3}$ the number of "buryings" is 12; $159\frac{3}{4}$, 14; $159\frac{4}{5}$, 7; from May 1595 to February $159\frac{6}{7}$ there are ten entries. From February $159\frac{6}{7}$ to February $159\frac{7}{8}$ there are 51 entries. An examination of these under the several months show the rapid rise of the epidemic. In February there were 4; March, 9; April, 13; May, 3; June, 1; July, 5; August, 1; September, 5; October, 3; November, 5; February, 2; total, 51. In 1598 only four entries occur, the last being in a different handwriting

handwriting from the others. Among the entries is the following :—

William Bowman parish clarke died 7 Nov. 1597.

Canon Ransome informs me that he is not aware of any authority for the statement quoted by Jefferson, and if such a mortality as stated did occur, a very large number must have been buried without funeral rites. The plague visited Appleby also at this time. Nicolson and Burn, (History of Cumberland and Westmorland, vol. I, p. 321), say that at this time the fairs and markets had to be removed on account of the infection from Appleby to Gilshaughlin,* and that between August 1st and March 25th there died at Appleby, Scattergate, Colby, and Colby Leathes 128 persons. The Rev. A. Warren informs me that the parish registers of St. Michael's, Appleby, which began in 1582, show a larger number of entries than usual in 1598.† The earlier registers of St. Lawrence are missing, and the oldest only goes back to 1695. At Edenhall about one-fourth of the inhabitants are said to have perished of the pestilence in 1598. Through the courtesy of the vicar, Rev. W. Lovejoy, I have been permitted to examine the Edenhall and Langwathby Registers. The former commences in 1558 and is in fairly good preservation, but the edges of the leaves of that part of the book which refers to the visitations of the plague are destroyed in parts as if eaten by mice. The parish seems to have suffered severely. In the year $159\frac{6}{7}$ there are only four entries of burials. In the following year $159\frac{7}{8}$, after recording the burials of eight people the following note occurs :—

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*At p. 460 of Nicolson & Burn's History, in describing the parish of Cliburn, it is stated :—"Within this parish is a tenement, now belonging to Sir James Lowther, baronet, called Gilshaughlin (from rubbish shoveling down), where the market was held 1598, when the plague raged at Appleby."

† In his letter Mr. Warren states that in 1699 the mortality was excessive, and that the burials about this period are all certified to be "in woolen."

These

These 4 next following dyed of the plaige, Itm vii M'cii Pattrig Rowtlishe was buried w^th^n Flatts wall neare to his own house being knowne to dye of the plaige.

The death of his wife on the 8th of March; his servant Elizabeth Thompson on the 11th, and his infant son John immediately follow. The first is entered as having been buried "beside her husband near the said place," and the last was buried "beside his father and mother in said place." This seems to have been an isolated outbreak of the disease. No further deaths from it are recorded until the end of the following July, 1598. A baptism is recorded on the 24th March. There was another baptism on April 25, three burials between this date and August, and then at the head of the next page is this entry :—

The 42 next following dyed of the—(word wanting).

The first plague death was on July 29. Some families suffered very severely as shown by the following entries :—

Itm First August one child of Andrew Atkinson of the plaige & was buried in flatts cloose. Itm xv & xvi August Andrew Atkinson wiffe iiii other children dyed of plaige and were buried their Lodge on Edenhall Fell at a place called Shaddowbourgh.

Twenty deaths occurred in August, and eleven in September. Some were buried in the churchyard, others beside or "on the backside of their house, on Penrith Fell, or Flatts cloose." The epidemic lasted until November. The following entry closes the record :—

Examyned and signed by the Viccar & Churchwardens of Edenhall whose names are under written

Churchwardens { John Watson
Wyll^m^ Pattinson

Per me Will^m^ Smith vicariu ibidem.

In the latter part of the year there were no deaths, but one

one wedding and two baptisms. All the entries of deaths are in the same handwriting, and have evidently been entered with great care. The same handwriting continues until 1609, when the death of the vicar is announced as follows :---

Anno D'ni 1609.
The first daye of Maye was Sir Will^m Smith viccar of . . . buried anno D'ni 1609.

He was evidently more precise and methodical about his register than he was about his personal appearance. In Bishop Meye's time a Court of High Commission was held, and we find him among the offenders :—

William Smyth, Curate of Edenhall, presented to wear his hose lowse at the knees.*

There are, doubtless, many parishes from which similar records of this eventful period might be obtained. Those I have given show how widespread was the pestilence. I proceed to give some record of the shifts which were adopted about this period to avoid the infection. Nicholson, in his "Annals of Kendal," in describing Coneybeds, a fort, situated on Hay Fell, says :—

In the time of the plague which desolated the kingdom in 1597-98, provisions were brought to this spot by the country people, and deposited for the inhabitants of Kendal, which was their only intercourse during that destructive period.

At Penrith, also, the usual markets were suspended, and places without the town (now called Meal-Cross, Cross-Green,) were appointed for purchasing the provisions brought by the country people. There still remains a large block of stone called the plague stone.† It is a block of freestone, hollowed in the centre as a trough,

* An account of this Court will be found in the History of the Diocese of Carlisle, by Chancellor Ferguson, p. 127.
† See Walker's History of Penrith.

about

about twelve inches square and ten inches deep, which was intended to hold some disinfecting liquid, most probably vinegar. In this trough the money from the hands of the townspeople was laid, and only when thus disinfected would the farmers receive it in payment for their goods. In Keswick there is a tradition that when the plague raged, as no markets were held for fear of the infection, the people of the dales carried their webs and yarns to a large stone, which is very conspicuous on one of the lower elevations of Armboth Fell, and there periodically met and did business with the trades. The stone still goes by the name of the "*web stone.*"* Mr. J. Fisher Crosthwaite informs me he has heard old people say that when the plague was in Keswick the country people came to "Cuddy Beck," but did not cross the little stream. The money was placed in the water and then taken, and the produce was laid on the ground for the Keswickians to take back.

The "Chronicle of Perth" (quoted in McDowall's "History of Dumfries," p. 381) says the wheat in 1598 was blasted over all Scotland, and oatmeal was so scarce that it sold for 6s. the peck, "ane great deid amang the people" being occasioned by the scarcity. Dumfries also suffered severely from the visitation. The following letter graphically shows the condition of the North country, and is taken from the Calendar of State Papers (p. 347, 1597):—

Jan.? 10. Complaint of Dr. William James, Dean of Durham, to Lord (Burghley?) The decay of tillage and dispeopling of villages offends God by spoiling the Church, dishonours the prince, weakens the commonwealth, &c., &c., but it is nowhere so dangerous as in northern parts. The inhabitants' arms were wont to be the strength walls, but now they are open gaps; want and waste have crept into Northumberland, Westmoreland, & Cumberland; many have to come 60 miles from Carlisle to Durham to buy bread, and sometimes for 20 miles there will be no inhabitant. In the bishopric of Durham, 500

* Transactions of Cumbd. & Westmd. Association for advancement of Literature and Science, No. xij. 1887, p. 70.

ploughs

ploughs have decayed in a few years, and corn has to be fetched from Newcastle, whereby the plague is spread in the northern counties; thus the money goes, and the people can neither pay their landlords nor store their ground. By this decay, the Queen loses 500 horsemen, who were bound with their servants to be ready armed at an hour's warning. Also those that remain have to bear the burden of the 500 decayed. Of 8000 acres lately in tillage, now not eight score are tilled; those who sold corn have to buy, and colleges and cathedrals are impoverished, because tenants cannot pay their rents; then whole families are turned out, and poor borough towns are pestered with four or five families under one roof. I beg the setting of these ploughs again, and present this to you in the absence of the Bishop, who tenderly affects this cause.

Under date Jan. 16, Dr. Wm. James writes to Secretary Cecil :—

If corn were not brought in at Newcastle, which now has the plague, thousands would perish for want of bread.

Mr. Lees, in a letter published in Stockdale's "Annals of Cartmel," has the following note :—

The cause of this destructive pestilence is thus described by King, in one of his sermons at York. Remember the Spring was very unkind by means of the abundance of rains; our July hath been like a February, our June even as an April, so that the air must needs be corrupted. God amend it in his mercy and stay the plague of waters.

Except the inscription on the Penrith stone there are no records of the numbers affected with the plague at Carlisle, and none of the local registers go so far back. Jefferson, (History of Carlisle, p. 44) says that in 1598 contributions were raised for the diseased poor, which amounted to £209 9s. 10d. According to Gibson's Camden, quoted by Hutchinson, History of Cumberland, vol. I, p. 326, the plague broke out on October 3. He says no notice was taken of any deaths except those in the city and places quite adjacent. The lesson which the visitation taught was a severe one, and precautions were taken for preventing the city from becoming infected by strangers in the

the future. Chancellor Ferguson tells me that the Chamberlain Accounts of the City of Carlisle for 1604 contain note of payments for watching the gates to prevent any plague stricken foreigner from entering.

After this great pestilence a quarter of a century elapsed before the next epidemic in the Border district, of which I can find record. Several references to an unusual mortality in 1623 are to be found in previous volumes of our Transactions. The first to call attention to this subject was Mr. Wm. Jackson, who, in examining the Newton Reigny registers, was surprised at the great mortality in 1597 and 1623, and Mr. Lees found from the Greystoke registers that the same years had an excessive mortality. Mr. Lees' idea was that this mortality was only local, caused by a bad harvest in 1622, or a very inclement season in 1623, or perhaps both. At Greystoke the mortality in the latter year was nearly as bad as in the plague year in 1597. Further enquiry has shown, however, that the mortality in this year was very heavy over most parts of Cumberland and Westmorland, and also in the South of Scotland, and the existence of the plague as one of the causes of it is shown from the following extract from McDowall's "History of Dumfries," 2nd Ed. p. 381.

> Again the two fell destroyers visited the country in 1623. At midsummer that year, Calderwood tells us, the famine was so sore that many, both in burgh and land died of hunger, numerous poor folks, who flocked into Edinburgh in a vain search for succour, falling down lifeless in the streets of the city. For several months prior to Michaelmas the mortality in Perth was at the rate of ten or twelve deaths per day: some other towns suffered in the same proportion; and Dumfries, perhaps, in a greater degree than any. Fearful must have been the condition of the burgh in that fatal year: many of the people pining for want—many more perishing under the arrows of the pestilence—some suffering from both the famine and the plague.

A tabular statement of the death rate in some of the parishes in the two counties may be of some interest. It shows

shows how widespread the epidemic was, and how great the death rate was in some small parishes :—

	YEAR	BURIALS	
Gosforth	1596	56	average about 13
,,	1597	116	
Camerton	1615	7	
,,	1616	5	
,,	1623	92	
Bolton, C.	1623	50	double ordinary years
Edenhall	1622	6	
,,	1623	17	
Langwathby	1596	8	
,,	1597	17	
,,	1598	26	
,,	1623	14	
Kirkoswald	1597	10	
,,	1598	51	
Kendal	1622	288	
,,	1623	762	
,,	1624	171	
Greystoke	1597	182	average under 30
,,	1623	163	
Crosthwaite	1597	267	average about 30
,,	1598	84	
,,	1623	257	
Newton Reigny	1597	30	average 8
,, ,,	1623	35	
Saint Bees	1623	145	average 30
Kirkby Lonsdale	1597	82	average under 50
,, ,,	1598	110	
,, ,,	1623	120	
St. Leonards, Cleator	1598	11	average 5
,, ,,	1623	28	
Lamplugh	1597	26	average 12
Hawkshead	1597	85	
,,	1623	98	
,,	1777	12	
,,	1752	10	
Millom	1596	22	
,,	1597	13	
,,	1598	17	

Millom

Millom	1599	28	
,,	1622	9	
,,	1623	10	
,,	1624	12	
Dean	1596	7	
,,	1618	4	
,,	1623	54	
,,	1629	11	
Ravenstonedale*	1578	25	
,,	1579	39	
,,	1587	29	
,,	1588	30	
,,	1597	27	
,,	1598	16	
,,	1623	45	average 15
,,	1624	34	
,,	1730	53	average 17

In the West of Cumberland plague seems to have been very prevalent. Dr. Ormrod, of Workington, who has kindly examined the registers at Dean, Lamplugh, and Camerton, for me, sends the following interesting note regarding the latter register:—

The register dates from 1599, is well preserved and the writing such as you would expect from one of Queen Elizabeth's churchmen clear and stylish. A very weak imagination can picture the horrors of that time. The parish seems to have included Flimby (with a chapel) Camerton, Seaton and the hamlet of Ribton. Death seems to have treated all alike from the Curwen who seems to have been the squire (a younger branch of the Workington Curwens) to "ye poore childe and ye poore woman whom no one knoweth,"—whose deaths without a name are recorded. The clerk seems to have lived through it all, for the same scholarly hand records the whole of the dismal tale. The churchyard at Camerton is small now, and it has been enlarged, but it must have been raised in height by the accumulation of human clay, for during the year 1623-4, April to April, 92 bodies were interred.

* In forwarding me the Ravenstonedale statistics, the Rev. R. W. Metcalfe says the mortality was especially high in June, July, and August of 1730, and the epidemic must have been very contagious judging from the frequency of the same family name occurring. There is no mention of this epidemic in any of the local histories I have seen.

In

In	1615	1616	1617	1618	1619	1620
Burials	7	5	10	13	9	12
In	1621	1622	1623	1624	1625	
Burials	9	16	92	7	14	
In	1626	1627	1628	1629	1630	
Burials	2	(can't make out)	1	3	5	

The year 1622 seems to have been a sickly time, but it was not till the summer of 1623 that the death cloud burst in its full fury. In the month of March and April the average was as usual, but it rose with alarming rapidity, attaining its maximum in September.

Mch & Apl	May	June	July	August
4	3	7	12	15
Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jany.	Feby.
20	16	6	4	2	3

Two and three deaths were common in a house.
Gyles Dynningon died with his wife and daughter
John Pearson died with his wife and daughter
Henry Allisan lost wife and two daughters
Geo. Bouch lost wife daughter and reputed daughter
John Moor lost son and daughter
Antony Yeoward lost wife son brother and I think more besides.
There was no time for marryings and christenings for few took place that year but the following year they were marrying and giving in marriage as usual, and the number of christenings was very large. To one who knows the district well and can imagine what it was then these bare facts furnish the outline of a ghastly picture—the idle plough—the silent spinning wheel, the melancholy hearth, and the subdued conversation as each enquired of his neighbour who had gone last and wondered who would be next.

Comparing this plague year with the last cholera visitation in 1849, Dr. Ormrod furnishes me with the number of burials in the parishes of St. Michael's and St. John's, Workington, during the following years:--

In	1847	195	burials.
,,	1848	151	,,
,,	1849	276	,,
,,	1850	126	,,

The

The plague of 1623 seems to have been the last epidemic year in the two counties.* A few more instances of its presence are recorded, but it does not seem to have had any great prevalence.

Some instances of the plague are remarkable for the high station of those affected. I am indebted to Mrs. Ware for calling my attention to the fact that two successive Bishops of Carlisle died of the plague: their deaths are recorded in the Dalston registers. Bishop John Meyt who succeeded Bishop Richard Barnes in 1577, died in 1597 from the plague at Rose Castle, at eight o'clock in the morning, and was buried in the Cathedral in the evening of the same day. His successor, Bishop Henry Robinson, who became celebrated for his piety and learning, died of the plague at Rose Castle on the 19th June, 1616, at about three o'clock in the afternoon, and was buried in the Cathedral the same evening about eleven o'clock.‡ Henry Lord Clifford, writing from Appleby Castle, under date Sep. 10, 1625, to Sec. Conway, states:—

That the plague is in Lord Will. Howard's house. Sir Francis Howard's lady took the infection from a new gown she had from London so as she died the same day she took it.

In the household books of Lord William Howard, of Naworth Castle (published by Surtees Society, p. 227,) occurs this entry:—

Rewards and given to the poor (inter alia) Octob. 5. Given to my Lady for the poor at Sir Francis' Ladye's funeralls iij^{li}.

In a foot note on same page:—

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* Great poverty and scarcity prevailed for some years in the North about this period. In 1629 the Justices of the Peace made a representation to the Council on this subject (vide Calendar of State Papers,—Domestic, 1629, p. 450):—"Of late the price of corn is marvellously enhanced in all these northern parts, being much about the prices following,—a quarter of wheat, £4; rye, £3; bigg, 40s.; oats, 20s., after the rate of twelve gallons to the bushel, the ordinary measure of the country. Fear even these prices will be higher, except they be supplied from the south. Pray them to stay the export of corn."

† Jefferson's History of Carlisle, p. 216.

‡ Op. Cit. p. 180.

Margare

Margaret, daughter of John Preston, of the Manor of Furness, Esq., the first wife of Sir Francis Howard. Her death is recorded in Sir Francis' prayer book, in his handwriting, as having taken place on the 7th of September, 1625. The book is preserved at Corby,—(Cf Howard Memorials, of the late Henry Howard, Esq., of Corby p. 81.) She died of the plague, as we learn from a letter by Henry, Lord Clifford, to Secretary Conway, dated Appleby Castle, Sept. 10, 1625 —:"the plague is gotten unto my Lord William Howarde's house, and the first that dyed of it was, Sr Francis Howarde's lady, whoe tooke the infection from a new gowne she had from London, soe as she dyed the same day she tooke it, wherupon they are all dispersed most miserably, with the greatest terror in the worlde, since they had all beene with the lady, and all in danger by that meanes. God knowes it was a most lamentable accident, and worthy of the tenderest pytty, to have all his children and grand-children in this aparant danger, and the lady of Sr William Howarde, the hope of his house (beeinge his heyer), greate with childe." (S. P. Dom Charles I, vi. 46).

In West Cumberland (Bridekirk Registers, vide Trans. vol. IV, p. 262,) two families seem to have been destroyed by the plague in 1647 and are entered as *peste mortui*, and in a note, p. 279, the destruction by plague of the Bromfield family is recorded as having taken place in 1648. This is the last local entry of the plague I can find. The great Visitation, as it is called, took place in London in 1665, and this was followed by the decline and ultimate cessation of the disease not only in Europe, but in the East generally. It finally disappeared from the English Bills of Mortality in 1679. The ravages, however, of the disease about the time when the English Liturgy was penned in 1547 will show the great significance which would be attached to the following words in the Liturgy :—

From lightning and tempest ; from *plague*, pestilence, and famine ; from battle and murder, and from sudden death, Good Lord, deliver us.

Note.—Since the above paper was in type I have had the opportunity, through the courtesy of Dr. Garnett, of examining the topographical catalogue of MSS. and also the catalogue of MS treatises and papers relating to the plague in the British Museum. There does

does not appear to be any matters of direct local bearing but from enquires I made of the courteous keeper of the department, I am inclined to think that valuable and interesting material might possibly be found in the Court rolls of some of the manors in Cumberland and Westmorland, and also in collections of private correspondence. The kind of information which may be expected from the latter source may be gathered from an extract which I quote from the Egerton papers—Camden Society, p. 406.

Letter from Lord Dumfermline, Lord Chancellor of Scotland to the Lord Chancellor of England, dated 30 October, 1606.

"The estaite of this kingdome in quietnes, obedience, and all other respects, is indeed better (thanks to God) at this present, nor it has been seene in ony leving menns rememberance. The only truble we haiff is this contagious sicknes of peste, whilk is spread marvelouslie in the best townes of this realme. In Edenburght it has bene continuall this four years, at the present not werie vehement, bot sik as stayes the cowmann course of administration off justice, whilk can not be weill exercised in naa other plain. Air and Stirveling ar almost overthrown with the seiknes, within thir twa moneths about twa thousand personnes dead in ane of thame. The maist of the people fled, and the tounes almoste left desolat. Dundie and Pearthe, otherwayes called St. Jhonstoun, the twa best tounes in this kingdome nixt to Edenburght, wearie wealthie and merchant tounes indeed, ar baith also infected within theis twa monthes, and in great truble. Glasgow and many other tounes and partes ar in the same distres. God of his mercie remove the same."

If any of my readers having access to such sources of information as I have indicated will communicate with me, I shall be much obliged.

ART. XVI.—*Mayburgh and King Arthur's Round Table.* By C. W. DYMOND, F.S.A.

THE accompanying plans and sections of these ancient remains are reduced photo-lithographed copies of originals drawn to one scale from exact instrumental surveys made in October, 1889. The objects thus delineated, though not the only relics of remote ages in their district, are by far the most prominent among them. Both are on the south side of the river Eamont, close to the village of Eamont* Bridge, and near together;—their centres being but 445 yards† apart.

Southward from the Round Table, centrally distant from it about 225 yards, and with little more than the width of a road between it and the river Lowther, there formerly existed a slight annular embankment, known as the "Little Round Table," vestiges of which were visible until about the year 1878, when, according to Mr. William Atkinson, the last traces were obliterated in widening the approaches to the new lodge-gates of Lowther park. He describes what he saw as consisting of "a low circular ridge . . . not more than 6 to 9 inches above the level of the surrounding ground, and from 3 to 5 feet broad at the base."‡ There is some difference of statement between authorities who give the diameter of this ring. Stukeley, partial to round numbers, calls it 100 yards, and says, "the *vallum* is small, and the ditch whence it was taken is outermost."§ Hutchinson, who wrongly locates it "nearer to Emont Bridge," (Lowther

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* Locally pronounced "Yammon:" whence, perhaps, Yeoman's bridge, an old form of the name.

† Measured on the 25-inch ordnance map, which, however, is not always quite trustworthy as to the smaller dimensions and distances.

‡ *Trans. Cumbd. and Westm. Ant. Soc.*, vol. VI, p. 444.

§ *Itinerarium Curiosum*, Cent. II, p. 43.

bridge ?)

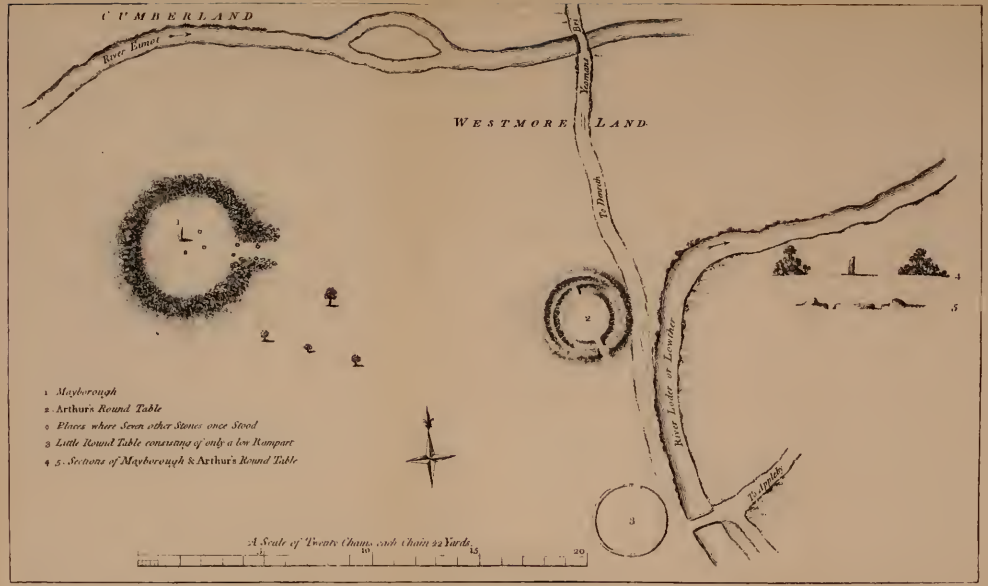
bridge?) describes it as a "circular ditch, with a very low rampart, . . . without any apertures or advances;"* and puts the diameter at 70 paces. It is clearly shown on a well-engraved plan in Pennant's *First Tour in Scotland*, 1769, herewith reproduced in *facsimile* on a rather smaller scale. The outer diameter measures 80 yards, after making a needful adjustment of the slightly erroneous scale attached to the plan. No ditch is shown,—the size is too small for that,—but there appears to have been an entrance, or at least a gap, through the bank, a little east of the north point, not quite in the direction of the Round Table, which is somewhat west of north. Mr. Atkinson does not mention the ditch, which may have disappeared. He estimated the diameter of the ring at from 60 to 80 yards. On a comparison of the *data*, we may probably assume that the latter figure is very near the truth. The authors of *Beauties of England and Wales*, after referring to the Round Table, somewhat obscurely describe this inclosure as follows:—"On the adjoining plain are a larger ring with low ramparts, and some smaller ones, [rings?] at present [1814] scarcely visible."†

A field, until lately fenced off, on the south-east side of Mayburgh, and covering the space between it and the main and occupation roads, for no good reason that I can find, was called "High Round Table." Perhaps a curved escarpment, the western and straighter part of which is shown in the plan of Mayburgh, together with other wavy scorings of the surface, may have conjured up in some imaginative mind the idea of another artificial work like the Round Table. It is hardly likely that the name had any reference to the adjoining Mayburgh, which is self-inclosed.

A large cairn once crowned the high northern bank of the Eamont, nearly opposite to Mayburgh. It was being

* *Excursion to the Lakes*, 1773-1774, p. 91.
† Westmorland vol, p. 111.

removed



FROM PENNANT'S FIRST TOUR IN SCOTLAND, 1769.

removed even in Stukeley's time; and, apparently, has long since utterly disappeared, unfortunately without any note having been taken of its contents. He describes it as "a very fine round *tumulus*, of a large size, and set about with a circle of stones:" from which simple record he characteristically jumps to the conclusion that "this in all probability was the funeral monument of the king that founded" Mayburgh and the Round Table.* That this cairn was cöeval with Mayburgh is, however, not unlikely, if any weight is to be attached to the fact that both were built with similar materials: for Hutchinson states that it "appears where the turf is broken, to be composed of pebbles; it is surrounded at the foot with a circle of large stones, of irregular forms, sizes, and distances, of the circumference of eighty paces."†

A mile-and-a-half due south from Mayburgh, near the top of a hill of moderate height, are the remains of an intrenched upland settlement known by the name of "Castlesteads;" and, three-quarters of a mile east of this, on the other side of the Lowther, half-a-mile south of the village of Clifton, are two standing-stones, of no great size or interest,—perhaps the only relics of a once-important megalithic work. Stukeley mentions other *tumuli* and megalithic groups in the Clifton district;—all of which, probably, have long since disappeared.

As to local ancient roads, I have not had an opportunity of gleaning much information; and therefore touch upon the subject with diffidence and reserve. One known Roman way—High Street—either traversed or skirted the *locus in quo*. Leading from Ambleside over the highest intervening mountain-ridges, it passed through Tirril to Yanwath; beyond which there appears to be some difference of opinion as to its course. In an archæological map

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* *Itin. Curios.*, II, 44.
† *Exc. to the Lakes*, 98.

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in *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, 1875, published by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne, and embodying the results of the best and most recent research, this part of the road is laid down as taking a north-easterly direction from Yanwath, and terminating at Brougham, a full mile east of Eamont Bridge. There it would unite with one of the great roads—that passing near Appleby and Kirkby Thore, —just south of the point where it crossed the Eamont on the way to Penrith and Carlisle. Although much of High Street on mountain and moor may still be seen, and is accurately laid down in the ordnance maps, its whole course is uniformly dotted in the archæological map as "not surveyed, but in accordance with the best local authorities." It is, therefore, not clear what degree of trust may be placed in those portions of the indicated line which are undefined on the ground; and I am not aware that any part of the ancient road, or a branch of it, has actually been traced between Yanwath and Brougham. If now we turn to the large scale ordnance maps, we get a different testimony. In them, High Street is made to diverge from the present Tirril—Yanwath road one-third of a mile short of the bridge over the railway, and to strike the river a few yards to the west of Yanwath Hall, where there would be a ford or a bridge It may be of some importance, in connexion with the subject of this paper, to settle such points as this: and it is evident we need more information about the history of the local roads, many of which are full of hints of survivals from Roman times. Pennant's plan does not help us; there being no indication thereon of an east and west track. The present road was, I believe, made about a century ago; and, from Stukeley's statement that "one end [of the Round Table —doubtless he means the northern end] is inclosed into a neighbouring pasture," it may be inferred that the line of the Roman way at that part, unless lost beneath the sod, did not coincide with the present one. One thing is sure, that,

MAYBURGH

EAMONT BRIDGE, WESTMORLAND.

SURVEYED BY C. W. DYMOND, F.S.A., OCTOBER, 1889.

—that, if it came in this direction, it must have passed either to the north or to the south of the escarpment extending from the Round Table about 400 yards southward. Bishop Gibson, in his "Additions" to Camden, (ed. 1695, p. 815) makes the Roman way between Brougham and Penrith, after reaching the former place, lead "directly to Lowther-bridge, and so over *Emot* into Cumberland."

MAYBURGH.

Site and general description.—Mayburgh,* seated on a wide low mound of glacial drift, consists of a rude circular cincture of small stones inclosing a nearly level grassy area, except on the east side, where an entrance interrupts the continuity of the rampart. In the midst—though not quite in the centre of the inclosure—stands a massive monolith, the only remaining member of a group, or groups, which once formed a prominent feature of the whole work.

Dimensions.—The following list will be found to include all the important dimensions. In so far as the reference is to that which can be accurately ascertained, and to the present state of the work, the figures may be taken as trustworthy. It is, however, impossible to say how much the *vallum* may have suffered from dilapidation, or to what extent this may, here and there, have altered its form.—

	Feet.
Height of standing stone above ground . . (9 ft. 2 ins.)	9·17
Greatest girth of stone . . . . about	18
Seat of stone above intrenched area of Round Table .	30
Seat of stone above surface of water of river Eamont .	35
Seat of stone above ordnance *datum*	430·2
Highest part of inclosure (S.E. point) above ordnance *datum*	433
Greatest height of *vallum* (S. point) above foot of outer slope†	21·1

* Pronounced, and often written, Mayborough.
† And about the same height at east end of southern sweep.

Greatest

Greatest height of *vallum* (E. end of southern sweep) above foot of inner slope	19·3
Least height of *vallum* (N.W. point) above foot of outer slope	10·4
Least height of *vallum* (N.W. point) above foot of inner slope	7·3
Average height of crest of *vallum* above original surface	13·8
Greatest breadth of *vallum* (S. point)	140
Least breadth of *vallum* (N.W. point)	102
Average breadth of *vallum*	120
Length of entrance	about 115
Breadth of entrance at surface of ground	averages about 15
Average diameter of circumvallation, centre to centre of crest	383
Average diameter of internal area, foot to foot of *vallum*	287
Cubic content of *vallum*, with hollows filled up	37,530 yards.
Area of inclosure to foot of *vallum*	1a. 1r. 38p.

The vallum.—Hutchinson greatly under-estimated the breadth of the *vallum*, "near 20 paces"—say 50 feet. It consists of stones evidently brought either entirely from the bed of the Eamont, distant 300 yards, or partly from thence, and partly from the Lowther, distant 540 yards.* For the most part they are of very small size,—not much bigger than a man's fist;—though boulders, 18 inches in length, with a very few as much as 30 inches, may, here and there, be seen. Save in scattered patches, the surface of the stone bank, which at first was probably left bare, has become clothed with a thin coating of soil, now grassed over. In this unpromising belt, a number of trees, chiefly ash, have taken root; their umbrage contributing

*The opinion of Mr. Goodchild, of H.M. Geological Survey, as reported by Mr. Atkinson, (see vol. VI, p. 451 of these *Transactions*) is that "Maybrough may very well have been originally one of those great mounds of glacial drift known as Eskers, ... and that the centre has been cleared out, and the larger stones thus obtained placed round the margin, while the gravel and smaller stones were used to form the level internal area. The large stone in the centre is one of the great bluish-grey boulders of volcanic ash, so commonly found scattered over the country by glacial action, and probably brought from the Lake District, and it would, with the others formerly existing here, in all probability be found in the centre of such a mound." That the standing stone was an erratic block, is most likely: but the rest of the theory does not altogether commend itself to our acceptance. It would be singular if this were the only ridge, out of many in the neighborhood, on which such an accumulation of stones gathered: and the theory does not seem consistent with the contours of the surface and the natuer of the ground,—evidently, as the sections show, the natural top of the swell, apparently nearly, if not quite, free from stones.

to

to deepen the retirement within. From Hutchinson's account, we learn that the surrounding land, now almost completely cleared, was, in his day, "on every side grown with oaks and ashes,"*—possibly the descendants of the trees of ancient woods, in the depths of which this rude hypæthral chamber was secluded.

The area.—The inclosed area, with an average diameter of 287 ft., may originally have been a little larger; for it is likely that, in course of time, some of the loose materials of the bank, disturbed by growth of trees and other agencies, may have slid downward and encroached upon it. Stukeley calls the diameter 300 ft., and says that, at the time of his visit, (15th Aug. 1725), the land was ploughed up and growing corn. Pennant estimated the diameter at 88 yards; which is a few feet less than the width at the narrowest part: for the field, as the plan shows, is not quite round. Hutchinson describes it as "a fine plain of meadow ground, exactly circular, one hundred paces [250 ft.] diameter."†

The megaliths.—The standing stone is 31 ft. 6 ins., N.W. by W., from the centre of the plot; a distance which lends support to Stukeley's theory of an inner circle; and agrees tolerably with his estimate that "this inner circle was fifty foot in diameter."‡ He proceeds to state his conviction that there "have been two circles of huge stones; four remaining of the inner circle till a year or two ago, [about 1723], that they were blown to pieces with gunpowder: . . . one now stands, ten foot high, seventeen in circumference, of a good shapely kind; another lies along. . . . One stone, at least, of the outer circle remains, by the edge of the corn; and some more lie at the entrance within side, others without, and fragments

* *Exc. to the Lakes*, 92.
† *Ibid.*, 93.
‡ *Itin. Curios.*, II, 44.

all

all about."* So much for Stukeley's fairly trustworthy record of facts. Pennant comes next, in 1769, 44 years later. According to his measurements, the height and girth of the stone were 9 ft. 8 ins. and 17 ft. respectively. He says, "there had been three more placed so as to form (with the other) a square. Four again stood on the sides of the entrance, viz. one on each exterior corner; and one on each interior; but, excepting that at present remaining, all the others have long since been blasted to clear the ground."† Writing of the standing stone, about four years after Pennant, Hutchinson, who classes it as "a species of the free stone," gives the height as "eleven feet and upwards," and the "circumference near its middle twenty-two feet and some inches;" and tells us, "the inhabitants in the neighbourhood say, that within the memory of man, two other stones of similar nature, and placed in a kind of angular figure with the stone now remaining, were to be seen there, but as they were hurtful to the ground, were destroyed and removed."‡ West makes the curious mistake of calling the monolith "a red stone."§ Pennant's plan, upon which are marked the places of seven of the missing stones, shows the one remaining, with the seats of three others, forming a rectangle, 60 ft. by 53 ft., out of square with the cardinal points; also the seats of two other stones, 40 ft. apart, and not quite *vis-à-vis*, at the inner corners of the entrance; and of two more, 45 ft. apart, one on each side, at about the middle of its length. Little trust should, however, be placed on the accuracy of this evidence; for we are not told that the seats of the missing stones were then to be seen: and perhaps we may be justified in concluding that there is not sufficient reason for regarding this apparent

* *Itin. Curios.*, II, 44.
† *First Tour in Scotland*, p. 257.
‡ *Exc. to the Lakes*, 93.
§ *Guide to the Lakes*, 7th ed., p. 167.

rectangular

rectangular arrangement as other than accidental. We may even go farther, and assume, with Stukeley, that a stone circle 50 ft. or 60 ft. in diameter once surrounded the central part of the ground; also that the avenue of approach was flanked by at least two great stones on each side. It is to be wished that we had stronger evidence as to the larger concentric circle imagined by Stukeley, who appears to have seen only one stone "by the edge of the corn." That such circle did once exist, is far from improbable: for in Mayburgh there is much that recalls the plan of Avebury, which exhibits a similar association and arrangement of stones and embankment. As to the weight of the remaining stone, estimates have differed considerably. It is not known exactly how deeply it is sunk into the ground. One Abraham Rawlinson, 83 years of age, told me that, with a tourist from London, he once dug down more than four feet by the side of the stone without reaching the bottom. It was found to taper downward, as though to a small extremity. A large piece was hammered off and weighed; and from this specimen the weight of the whole stone was calculated to be 15 tons. Others have put it at 20 tons. From my own measurements, I think the content may be from 155 to 160 cubic feet, and the weight 11 or 12 tons.

Camden says that Penrith castle, in the reign of Henry VI, was repaired out of the ruins of Mayburgh. Bishop Gibson, one of his editors, denies this. The statement is repeated by Nicolson and Burn, who also print a record that "in the reign of Hen. 6 there seems to have been a general contribution towards the building, or perhaps rather rebuilding of Eamont bridge,"* for which an indulgence was granted by bishop Langley. It is not unlikely that, for this purpose, Mayburgh may have been despoiled of most of its megaliths; and that the other less

* *Hist. and Ant. of Westm. and Cumbd.*, I, 413.

probable

probable assertion may have so originated. The authors of *Beauties of England and Wales** are yet wider of the mark when they make the last-named writers say that it was Kendal castle which was thus repaired :—an evident misprint.

The berm.—Along the southern third of the circuit of the inclosure there is a faintly marked berm, or terrace, 10 ft. or 12 ft. in breadth, and about six inches in height. It is shown in section C—D, but is too indistinct to be plotted on the plan. Whether artificial or accidental, or whether it was left as a margin in ploughing, cannot now be told. The last supposition seems to be the most probable.

Modern work.—To avoid the risk of future visitors erroneously assuming that certain superficial traces of human handiwork on the *vallum* are ancient, it may be well to note that the footings of fence-walls once crowning portions of its crest,—one of which was continued down the edge on the south-eastern side of the entrance, as indicated on the plan,—are still visible. These walls were removed only a few years ago. The shallow transverse gap through the top of the *vallum*, on the south-west side, was undoubtedly cut in modern times for a cart-track into the inclosure. All the hollows in the stone bank have been made either by the uprooting of trees or by the removal of material for mending the roads. For a long time men were kept here breaking stones; and I was told that hundreds of cart-loads have been taken away for that purpose. The eastern half of the *vallum* seems to have suffered little from this spoliation; and, in its present state, no doubt fairly retains the original height and contour.

Ditch.—The absence of a ditch is easily explained. A ditch usually connotes an earthen bank raised with the excavated material. But here, where the material of the

* Westmorland vol. p. 113.

bank

bank was brought from a distance, a ditch was unnecessary. Had the *vallum* been of earth, as at Avebury, no doubt we should here, as there, have had the berm and the inner ditch.

Time required for raising the work.—From an approximate estimate which I have made as to the total time likely to be occupied in raising an embankment such as this, on the supposition that the materials were brought from the rivers in baskets, I find that, if 1000 men were to work industriously and continuously for eight hours a day collecting and carrying the stones, under the most favorable conditions, it would take at least six months. But the time would really be very much longer: for the material could be got only when the waters were comparatively low;—a rarer occurrence in olden times than in our own.

Relics.—No systematic exploration has been attempted here: nor have casual "finds" been of any importance. But two are recorded: the first by Stukeley, who says that "in ploughing at Mayborough they dug up a brass Celt."* In 1879, "Professor Harkness exhibited [to the Society] a portion of a broken unfinished [stone] celt, which had been found by Mr. Williams, at the entrance into the Mayborough. . . . It was obtained on the surface of the soil from which a thin covering of turf had recently been cut."†

Historic notices.—Mayburgh cannot with assurance be connected with any historic event. Bishop Gibson has tried to prove that it was the place called "Eamotum," or "Eamotun," where, according to several chroniclers, Athelstan, in the year 926, two years after his accession to the throne, made a treaty of peace with Constantine, king of Scotland, Howel, king of the western Britons, Owen, king of Gwent, and Aldred, son of Eadulph, of Bamburgh. William of Malmesbury is alone in mentioning a place

* *Itin. Curios.*, II, 44.
† *Trans. Cumbd. and Westm. Ant. Soc.*, IV, 545.

called

called "Dacor" in connexion with a similar treaty which Athelstan made with Constantine and his liege, the king of Cumberland; other parties to the pact, if any, not being named. This also being represented as sequential to that turn in affairs which immediately preceded, and issued in, the afore-mentioned treaty, it is not unreasonable to suppose that these two records refer to one and the same event; and that Dacor and Eamotum were different names of the same place. Dacor is generally identified with Dacre,* in Cumberland, barely four miles W.S.W. from Mayburgh, and only a mile from the banks of the Eamont, or Eamot, as it was formerly called. Probabilities, therefore, do not seem strained if we assume that it was once known by a name formed from that of the neighboring river. Were it not for this (as I think) preferable theory, perhaps the vicinity of Eamont Bridge might have put in a plausible claim by reason of being not far from two—perhaps three—important passages across the river, if it could be shown to have been,—as, doubtless, Eamotum was,—in olden time an inhabited place, with a recognised name. There is, however, so far as I am aware, no evidence that Eamont Bridge, as a settlement, is as old as the time of Pennant, upon whose plan no such village is shown. That Eamotum was Mayburgh,—a spot doubtless uninhabited,—is merely a conjecture, and an improbable one. Ingram, in his edition of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*,† places Eamotum at "Emmet, or Emmotland, in Yorkshire." He evidently refers to two villages called High and Low Emmotland, two miles S.W. of North Frodingham, and 8½ miles N.W. of Hornsea. It may be mentioned that, in the same county, there are two villages or hamlets bearing the names of Dacre and Dacre Banks. They are on the river

* In Black's *Guide to the English Lakes*, it is stated that "there is a room in the castle called to this day 'the room of the three kings.'"

† Index to place-names.

river Nidd, three miles S.E. of Pateley Bridge;—for topographical reasons, a very unlikely spot to have been the Dacor of the chronicler.

Analogues.—Though standing apart, by reason of its vast size, Avebury has several features in common with Mayburgh. It consisted of an earthen embankment, 4442 ft. in compass, measured along its crest, and 34 ft. in height, within which was a berm about 12 ft. wide, and then a ditch, 33 ft. deep, inclosing an approximately circular area of 28½ acres, having an average diameter of about 1215 feet. Around the edge of this, 100 huge stones were set up in a ring; and, within the circuit, there were also two great stone circles, respectively about 325 ft. and 350 ft. in diameter. One avenue of megaliths (some think two) radiated from the ring, and probably extended to a long distance from it. There are now four gaps through the embankment; but the place has been so much injured, that it is almost impossible to say whether all of these are ancient. The only entrance as to which there seems to be any certainty, is that on the south side, at the head of the Kennet avenue, which points a little south of south-east. "*Bryn Gwyn*, or *Brein Gwyn*, at *Tre'r Dryw*, is a circular hollow of a hundred and eighty feet in diameter, surrounded by an immense agger of earth and stones, evidently brought from some other place, there not being any mark of their being taken from the spot. It has only a single entrance."* "There are no remains of columns in the interior part."† Near by was "a great copped heap of stones," and "the reliques of a circle of stones, with the *Cromlech* in the midst."‡ Gough furnishes the following additional facts§:—That the perpendicular height of the *agger* is 15 feet; that "the people call it *Castelh*,

* Pennant's *Tour in Wales* in 1770, vol. II, pp. 229-230.
† Pennant's *First Tour in Scotland*, p. 257.
‡ Pennant's *Tour in Wales* in 1770, vol. II, pp. 229-230.
§ Camden's *Britannia*, II, 199, Add. to Anglesey.

and

and suppose it to have been anciently surrounded with a town;" that *Bryn Gwyn*, by which Mr. Rowlands designated the work, is properly the name of "a cottage, two bow shots south of it, whose gabel is formed of a monstrous single stone." "Behind the cottage is a broken cromlech. The name of Bryn Gwyn seems to be given also to the circle of stones," eight or nine in number, near at hand: beside which, there are ruins of other megalithic works in the immediate vicinity.

It will be most convenient to discuss the etymology of its name, and the theories about the origin and use of Mayburgh, at the end of this paper, together with those concerning the Round Table.

THE ROUND TABLE.

Site.—The site of the Round Table has been aptly described by Stukeley as "a delicate little plain, of an oblong form, bounded on "one" side by a natural declivity." On the other side flows the Lowther. The ground thus shut in is about 300 yards in length, and has an average breadth of 130 yards. The Round Table is at its northern outlet, where it suddenly expands, continuing on the same level to the banks of the two rivers. In the opposite direction, the surface begins gradually to rise at the distance of 230 yards from the Round Table.

Description.—This earthwork has been formed by digging a ditch nearly around an oval area; with the excavated material forming an inclosing embankment, with a berm between it and the ditch, and raising a slight and nearly circular platform eccentrically in the inclosure. Originally, the continuity of the ditch was broken at two opposite points by leaving gangways to give access to the interior of the work; in line with which were two passages through the embankment. The northern of these two entrances was all but completely destroyed in making the Yanwath road, about the end of last century; only a portion of its inner

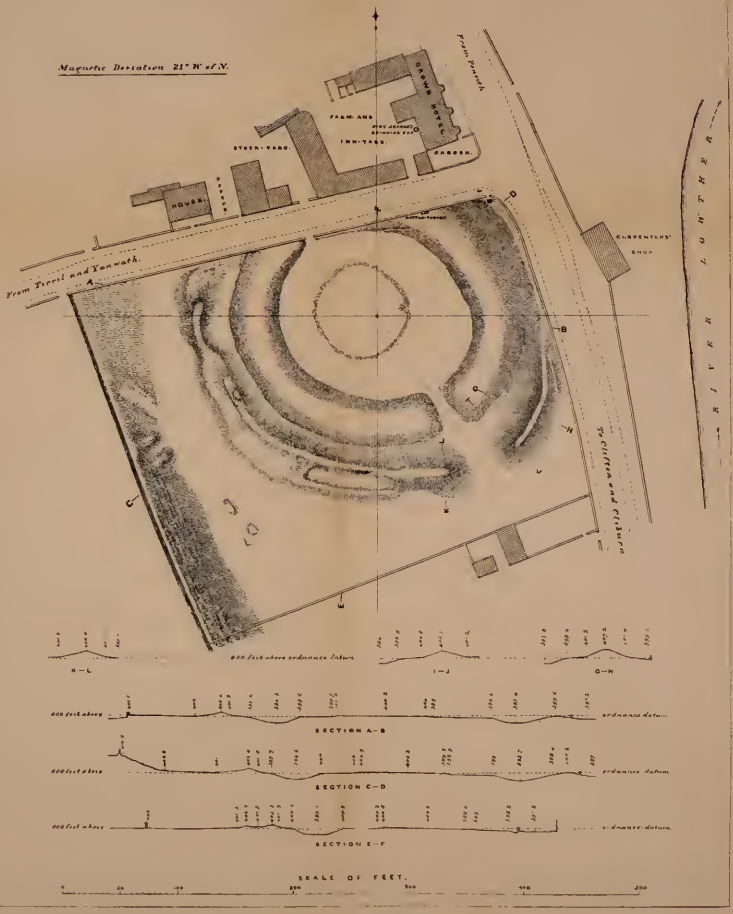
AN ANCIENT EARTHWORK

CALLED

"KING ARTHUR'S ROUND TABLE,"

EAMONT BRIDGE, WESTMORLAND.

SURVEYED BY C. W. DYMOND, F.S.A. OCTOBER, 1889.



inner end being left visible at the field-gate. A slice was also cut off from the eastern side of the embankment by straightening and widening the Clifton road, which appears to have been done at the same time. The inner area around the platform is nearly level; but the berm rises from the edge of the ditch to the foot of the bank. The section G—H shows what must have been the original form and height of the latter, which, in most other parts, has been much degraded. Especially is this so along the south-western side, where the bank has been scooped out and flattened almost beyond recognition. As to the material of which it is made, Stukeley says,—"the composition of it is intirely coggles and gravel, dug out of the ditch;" adding that "the inhabitants carry it away to mend the highways withal."* Perhaps this may account for the deformation. There is, however, nothing visible to indicate this alleged stony nature of the ground; for the whole is carpeted with fine turf constantly grazed; and not a stone can be seen on the surface. Such is the irregularity of the work on the plan, that it evidently could not have been set out even by pacing,—still less with a measuring line from a centre. I learned from the old man beforementioned that, more than 60 years ago, to the best of his poor recollection, the then owner of the "Crown" inn, one Bushby,—either the same who built it in 1770, or his son,—deepened the ditch, and threw the earth on the banks. I do not, however, imagine that much in this way was done;—probably not enough to alter to any appreciable extent the features of the work.

Detached works.—Toward the northern end of the escarpment on the western side of the field, there are traces of what apparently was an inclined cart-track which, perhaps, once connected the two adjoining fields. Just south of this, two short spur-banks project from the escarpment;

* *Itin. Curios.*, II, 43.

and,

and, in the plain, midway between this and the Round Table, are faint traces of what may be the remains of another bank.

"*King Arthur's Drinking-cup.*"—In the inn-yard, serving as a water-butt, is a circular tank of red sandstone, 38 ins. in diameter, and about 36 ins. in depth, which has been called "King Arthur's Drinking-cup." About this object, as about many another, a baseless story has been started which, unless checked, may, in time, become, by repetition, a fixed tradition of the spot. I find that even some antiquaries have been misled by confiding too easily in statements made to them, to the effect that this tank was dug up on the site of the Round Table; nay, that it had been found in the very centre thereof. I myself was told this most improbable tale, till, on closely cross-questioning my informant,—the same who had set the story afloat,—he acknowledged that he knew nothing about it; and that he had stated as a fact that which he only supposed to be so. The aforesaid old man—the most ancient authority in the village, having lived there for more than 60 years—testified that it had been in the inn-yard (though not in the same position) as long as he could remember Of course, this tank has really never had any connexion with the earthwork over the way.

Dimensions.—The following is a list of the principal dimensions, &c.—

	Feet.
Original extreme length outside embankment, about	365
Original extreme breadth outside embankment, about	315
Original length, centre to centre of embankment, about	320
Original breadth, centre to centre of embankment, about	280
Longest diameter within the ditch	168
Shortest diameter within the ditch	144
Longest diameter of raised platform	78
Shortest diameter of raised platform	72
Width of crest of bank on line G—H	4
Greatest width of berm	20

Least

Least width of berm	6
Average width of berm	12·7
Width of gangway at narrowest part	9
Width of entrance	21
Greatest top width of ditch	48
Least top width of ditch	41
Average top width of ditch	43·17
Greatest bottom width of ditch	26
Least bottom width of ditch	15
Average bottom width of ditch	19·4
Greatest depth of ditch below inner edge	5·5
Least depth of ditch below inner edge	4·3
Average depth of ditch below inner edge	5·07
Greatest height of bank above original surface, (section G—H)	7
Greatest height of bank above bottom of ditch, (section G—H)	13·4
Greatest height of raised platform	1
Least height of raised platform	0·4
Bearing of S.E. entrance from centre of work	S. 35° E.
Bearing of N.W. entrance from centre of work, about	N. 41° W.

Early notices.—Leland (*c.* 1538) is the first author who has noticed this relic of the past. He says:—"Withyn a Myle of *Perith*, but in *Westmorland*, is a Ruine, as sum suppose, of a Castel withyn a slite Shotte of *Loder* and as much of *Emot* Water, stonding almost as a *mediamnis* betwixt them. The Ruine is of sum caullid the *Round Table*, and of summe *Arture's Castel*. A Myle lower metithe *Loder* and *Emot* at *Burgham* Castel."* After a long interval, comes Stukeley, in 1725. His description is as follows:—"Upon the edge of the Louther, where the bridge now passes it, is a delicate little plain, of an oblong form, bounded on the other side by a natural declivity. . . . . On this plain stands the antiquity commonly called King Arthur's Round Table: . . . . it is a circle inclosed with a ditch, and that with a *vallum*," which "lies sloping inward with a very gradual declivity. . . . The outside

* *Itinerary*, vol. VII, pp. 49, 50.

of

of the *vallum* is pretty steep: it was high originally, as may be seen now in some parts; but it is worn down, as being by the side of the common road. . . . There are two entrances into the *area*, north and south, or nearly so: one end is inclosed into a neighbouring pasture; the *area* had a circle within, somewhat higher in elevation than the other. The outer verge of the *vallum* is a circle of 300 foot."* Pennant's notice (1769) is very short:—"At a small distance beyond the bridge, near the road side, is a circle called Arthur's round table, consisting of a high dike of earth, and a deep foss within, surrounding an area twenty-nine yards in diameter. There are two entrances exactly opposite to each other; which interrupt the ditch in those parts filled to a level with the middle."† These gangways have been left; not filled in. In 1773, Hutchinson writes:—"From thence [Penrith] we went to view a place by the inhabitants called *Arthur's round Table*, near to Emont Bridge, and about half a mile from Penrith. . . . . It is cut in a little plain near the river, of an exact circular figure, save to the eastern and western sides an approach is left to the common level of the plain:—the trench by which it is formed, is near ten paces wide; the soil which has been thrown up on the outward side making a kind of theatre:—the approaches are ten paces wide, and the whole circle within the ditch is one hundred and sixty paces in circumference."‡

Analogues. — Many other ancient earthworks in this country are more or less similar in design to the Round Table; and it may be well to notice in a few words those which bear the closest resemblance to it.

On the occasion of a visit paid by this Society to Eamont Bridge in 1879, attention was drawn to a description of the Round Table by Canon Greenwell and Dr. Rolleston,

* *Itin. Curios.*, II, 43.
† *First Tour in Scotland*, 256.
‡ *Exc. to the Lakes*, 90.

(*British*

(*British Barrows*, 381), after referring to which, they proceed to notice "three similar constructions (one perfect, the others more or less destroyed), almost identical in shape with Arthur's Round Table, [which] still exist at Thornborough, near Tanfield, in the North Riding of Yorkshire;" adding that "two more are to be seen on Hutton Moor near Ripon, not many miles [about four miles S.E.] from those at Thornborough."* Stukeley mentions that Roger Gale, who accompanied him to Westmorland, "says there is such a work as the round table near his house in Yorkshire, [Scruton, about six miles north of Thornborough], with many barrows near it."† Not having seen any of these remains, I take the following particulars of the Thornborough group from the 6-inch ordnance map. It seems that the site is a low plain, of considerable extent, washed on the south-western side by the river Ure. They range in a nearly straight line, almost parallel to the river, and about 3500 ft. therefrom; their distances apart, from centre to centre, being as follow:—from the N.W. ring, (No. 1), to the middle ring, (No. 2), 2480 ft. from No. 2 to the S.E. ring, (No. 3), 2380 ft. In plan, No. 1 is identical with the Round Table; with this addition, that there are remains of an outermost ditch covering the eastern half, with an interval of about 80 ft. between its edge and the foot of the bank. The diameter of the apparently circular central area is 340 ft.; that from crest to crest of embankment, 570 ft. The plan of No. 2 is the same: but here the outermost ditch is indicated as covering only the western quarter. The two diameters of the oval central area scale respectively 340 and 366 ft.; that from crest to crest of embankment, 600 ft. No. 3 seems to differ from the other two in having now no berm between the bank and its very wide ditch,—so wide as to suggest that there may

* *Trans. Cumb. and Westm. Ant. Soc.*, IV, 545.
† *Itin. Curios.*, II, 46.

originally

originally have been a berm, which has been worn away and lost in the counterscarp of the ditch. The diameter of the nearly circular central area is 275 ft.; that from crest to crest of embankment, 550 ft. No traces of an outermost ditch are indicated on the map. The entrances of No. 1 point N. 35° W. and S. 35° E.—the latter exactly toward the northern entrance of No. 3. The bearings of those of No. 2 are N. 33° W. and S. 33° E.—the latter in the direction of the northern entrance of No. 3: that of the northern entrance of No. 3 is N. 35° W.—exactly in the direction of the southern entrance of No. 1: that of the southern, S. 28° E. It is curious, but perhaps hardly significant, that most of these bearings are identical with those of the entrances of the Round Table. There are four *tumuli* within a quarter of a mile of these rings,—one of them being about mid-way, and almost exactly in a line between the entrances of No. 2 and No. 3. Pennant furnishes the following description of these remains, as he saw them in 1773.—"About this common are three of those circular enclosures, which are attributed to the *Danes*, and called *camps*. They lie in a line passing from north-west to south-east, about nine hundred yards distant from each other. . . . . Their form . . . . is an exact circle. The first thing observable is the outmost ring, which consists of a very small ditch: about twenty-four paces from that is a mound, or dike, of earth, of a vast size, not less than twelve or fourteen feet high, covered with sod, and sloping both outwardly and inwardly. At the foot of this a terrass, fourteen paces broad, surrounds a very deep ditch, at least sixteen paces broad at top. This incloses a circular area, smooth and even as could be formed, about a hundred and thirty-two yards in diameter. To this are two entrances, exactly in the middle, and opposite to each other. These are cut through the dyke, and fill the ditch in that part, to the level of the area. One of these circles is very entire: the other has been injured by the

the plough. I mention a third, which I saw in a survey I was lately favored with; for I did not walk far enough to discover it. . . . All these are of the same size: their whole diameter, from outer-ditch to outer-ditch, is two hundred and sixty-four yards. . . . I must observe that the ring near *Penrith*, in *Cumberland*, is an exact miniature of these. . . . I found between two of the circles four *tumuli*, small, round, and exactly in a line with each other: and to the north-west of the middle are, noted in the plan, three others, which escaped my notice."*

Mr. James Fergusson has instanced two earthworks as "identical" in plan and dimensions with the Round Table,—Wood Castle, near Lochmaben, in Dumfriesshire,† and Arbor Low, in Derbyshire.‡ Though, at first sight, perhaps, there is sufficient similarity in both cases to invite comparison, they have by no means that identity of form and character with the earthwork at Eamont Bridge which Mr. Fergusson claims for them.

Wood Castle, on a hill overlooking a valley partly occupied by a chain of lochs, is an earthwork formed by surrounding an elevated circular area, 210 ft. in diameter, with an embankment, outside which is a ditch, and then another lower embankment, with one-third of its circuit covered by a second ditch, and by a third, outermost, and still lower embankment beyond that. The one feature which catches the eye in this connexion is the occurrence of two opposite entrances, like those of the Round Table;—a correspondence much too slight to be of any significance here.§

Of Arbor Low, about nine miles S. by E. from Buxton, Mr. Fergusson says, it "consists of a circular platform, [the

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* *Tour from Alston Moor to Harrowgate and Brimham Crags*, pp. 48, 49, 51.
† *Rude Stone Monuments*, pp. 129, 135.
‡ *Ibid.*, 139, 140.
§ Roy's *Military Antiquities of the Romans in Britain*, 1793, Pl. viii. There is no letterpress description.

plan

plan shows it as a rude oval], 167 feet in diameter, surrounded by a ditch 18 feet broad at bottom, the earth taken from which has been used to form a rampart about 15 feet to 18 feet high, [probably from the bottom of the ditch], and measuring about 820 feet in circumference on the top." No berm intervenes between the ditch and the embankment. "There are two [opposite] entrances across the ditch." These are in a line pointing nearly N. and S. "A tumulus is attached unsymmetrically to the outer vallum," not far from one of the entrances. But Arbor Low had—what none of the other examples, except Avebury, have, or, as far as can be determined, ever had—"a circle of stones on its inner platform, originally probably forty or fifty in number. . . . In the centre of the platform, also, are several very large stones, which evidently formed part of a central dolmen."*

If we except the megaliths, and the lack of symmetry in the approaches, and forget the difference in size, the general design of Avebury, described above, is much like that of the Round Table: the level site, the earthen bank, the berm, the inner ditch, and the circular shape are alike in both: but with these the similarity ceases.

Another example may, perhaps, be brought into comparison; one which, though, like Avebury, differing greatly from it in size, resembles our Westmorland inclosure in several respects. This is "Chlorus' camp," in Wilts, a plan and description of which are given by Sir R. C. Hoare,† and a perspective view, with a brief notice, by Stukeley.‡ It is situated on high ground, commanding a wide prospect. From the former author I glean that in plan it is bluntly pear-shaped, with an embankment inclosing an area of about 15 acres, the central part of which, 550 to 650 ft. across, is nearly insulated by "a

* *Rude Stone Monuments*, 139, 140.
† *Ancient Wiltshire*, I, 217, 218.
‡ *Itin. Curios.*, I, pp. 129, 130.

deep

deep and irregular ditch," with a berm 70 to 100 ft. wide between it and the embankment, which is stated to be 46 ft. in height (probably measured on the slope of the scarp), and with an outer ditch around the whole. "The principal entrance lies towards the east, [E. by S.], where there are some slight traces of an outwork; it had an exit on the opposite side towards the west." The inner ditch was crossed by gangways in line with the outer entrances.

It remains to notice one more illustrative earthwork, and that of more kindred character than any of the above, except the Yorkshire examples,—Piran Round, near Perranzabulo, in Cornwall, of which I am able to give the following particulars and rough dimensions, taken chiefly by pacing, on a hasty visit paid to this spot in 1870. A circular embankment, in good preservation, about 10 ft. high from the surface of the site, and 7 ft. in width at top, surrounds a level grassy area, about 140 ft. in diameter; and the whole is encompassed by an outer ditch, about 25 ft. wide at top, 10 ft. at bottom, and 6 ft. deep, except at two opposite points, S.E. and N.W., where gangways have been left across the ditch, and corresponding entrances, 12 ft. wide, through the embankment. A straight road, 12 ft. wide, and sunk about a foot below the surface, crosses from one entrance to the other, bisecting the area. N. 60° E. from the centre there is a semi-circular recess, 9 ft. wide, in the foot of the inner face of the bank; from which a straight passage, 5 ft. wide, and sunk 12 inches, leads toward the centre into a circular saucer-shaped depression, 13 ft. in diameter at top, $8\frac{1}{2}$ ft. at bottom, and 27 ins. deep, the centre of which is about 24 ft. from the centre of the inclosure. There was another smaller recess, 4 ft. wide, in the bank at a point S. 30° W. from the centre of the inclosure. It may be added here that Piran Round was undoubtedly used for miracle plays; and probably is not many centuries old.

Historic

Historic notices.—But one historic event is recorded as having occurred at the Round Table. Stukeley relates that "upon part of the plain are marks of the tents of the Scots army, that accompanied King Charles II. in his way to Worcester: they encamped here for some time, and drew a small line across part of the southern circle: this was done within memory."*

ETYMOLOGY.—ORIGIN AND USE.

Though the two remains from a forgotten past, which are the subjects of this paper, are herein brought together, it ought not, by any means, to be assumed, as was done by Stukeley, that both belong to one period, and were works of one people. On the contrary, it is possible that a long period may have elapsed between the dates at which they were separately founded; and, in attempting to divine the uses to which they were devoted, it will be best to consider each quite independently of the other. It ought to be borne in mind that works like these,—so notable, the one for the amount of labour expended upon it, the other for its evident adaptation to some established requirement,—are not likely to have been executed for any merely temporary purpose. Their founders must, in the one case, have had in view that which to them was a great and worthy end; and, in the other, some special and continual use to which the special form was suited.

Etymology of the name Mayburgh.—This word, as is common in such cases, has been spelled in a variety of ways;—Maburg, Maburgh, Mayburgh, Maybrough, Mayborough;—and, as is usual too, speculations on its signification have been numerous, and sometimes wild. Bishop Gibson, the earliest writer I can find treating upon the subject, says that the place is "call'd by some King

* *Itin. Curios.*, II, 43.

Arthur's

Arthur's Castle,* and by others *Mayburgh* (or as vulgarly Maybrough) which probably is but a modern name."† Pennant pronounces the name "Saxon, and given long after its construction."‡ Hutchinson quotes from *Magna Britannia* an observation of Dr. Hicks "upon the Saxon and *mago, magu,* &c. that it signifies, affinitas, kindred."§ He also says that "the name of Maybrough [at first] induced us to believe, that" . . . it was "a corruption of Maiden Burg," but the standing-stone "confounded this conjecture, and prompted an idea, that the name" was "*Mayberie,* or *Maleberge.*"‖ In a note, he adds this quotation from Lord Coke:—"Antiquarians have frequently confounded *Bury,* for *Berie;*—the one implying the tomb of some personage; the latter, *Berie,* being the name of a plain or vale, surrounded with groves and forests, and held sacred by the ancient Britons." West, borrowing from Rowlands' *Mona Antiqua,* p. 84, says:—"If the present name be a Saxon corruption of the ancient name, which probably was *Myfirion,* by the Saxons pronounced Maybirion or Maybir, and to bring it still nearer to their own language, Mayburgh, then this conjecture being admitted, it will signifiy a place of study and contemplation."¶ The authors of *Beauties of England and Wales*** accept the opinion that "its present name is Saxon, and signifies the *Virgin,* or *Maiden's Fortress.*" I am tempted to add one more guess to the above, but only by way of suggestion. May the word be of British instead of Saxon origin, without going so far out of the way as Rowlands has done for

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* Probably we may thus correct Leland, quoted *ante,* where he says that the Round Table was called "of summe *Arture's Castel.*" He appears not to have seen Mayburgh; but, hearing one of its local designations, confounded it with that of the other ring.

† Camden's *Britannia,* 1695 ed., p. 817, Add. to Westm.

‡ *First Tour in Scotland,* 257.

§ *Exc. to the Lakes,* 97.

‖ *Ibid.,* 94.

¶ *Guide to the Lakes,* 7th ed., 167, 168.

** Westmorland vol., 114.

an

an explanation? A plausible etymology might be made by combining the Welsh *ma*, a place or space, with *bwr*, an intrenchment. Little change would be needed, but in the pronunciation of the *a* from the Celtic to the English sound;---such a change as has actually taken place in parallel cases, which could be cited. Another, but much less probable derivation might be that from *magwyr*, an inclosure, a wall. There are two words with so much likeness to Mayburgh, that they deserve to be mentioned here. One of these is *Mawburgh* or *Malbray*, the name of the ruins of a fortified post on the coast of Cumberland. The other is *Avebury*. If we could get over the difficulty presented by the initial M, there is sufficient similarity between some of the various forms of Avebury and Mayburgh to suggest comparison between them: and the force of this (if it has any) is perhaps increased by the analogy between the works themselves. Avebury (now pronounced, and often written, *Abury*) has, at different times, been spelled variously, thus:—*Avreberie* (Domesd.), *Avebury* (Sarum Regist.), *Abery* and *Aubery* (Valor Eccl.), *Avebury* (Monast.), *Aubury* (Aubrey), and *Abury* (Stukeley). It seems probable that the first part of the word is kindred to *ea*, *ey*, *ay*, signifying water. The second part is probably *bury*, (not *bery*), a fort.

For what purpose designed.—When we come to speculate upon the purpose for which Mayburgh was probably founded, we find the subject involved in even more than the usual depth of obscurity; for the page of authentic history is here totally blank; the voice of tradition, if not altogether dumb, is errant and misleading; the form and arrangement of the work are very uncommon, if not unique; and there has been no systematic exploration of the place with the spade. Bishop Gibson, in his Additions to the *Britannia*, calls it, in one place, "a great Fort of Stones," in another, "a Danish Temple." Stukeley, "a great British temple." Pennant, unaware of any tradition, follows

follows Rowlands in regarding it as "a supreme consistory of Druidical administration." Hutchinson, after mentioning "the traditional account given of this place, . . in nowise to be credited: That it was a Roman theatre, where criminals were exposed to wild beasts; and that those stones were placed for the refuge and respite of the combatant," concludes that it was "a druidical monument," "a temple of the druids." Nicolson & Burn, "a place of worship in the times of the ancient Druids." West says that it "has the circumstances of a British fort; but the rude pillar inclines some to believe it the remains of a druid temple." Gough, "plainly British and Druidical." We may at once brush aside as baseless the fancies in which less known writers were wont to indulge when contemplating Mayburgh as a scene of awful Druidic ceremonies;—such as that the standing-stone supported the wicker colossus in which the holocaust of human victims was offered to the gods.

Now the megaliths in Mayburgh forbid us to regard it as having been a fort: and the supposition, based on tradition, that it was a Roman theatre, is even more untenable. The "Danish" temples, from early times, seem to have been walled and roofed, and were commonly rectangular, with no resemblance to a stone circle. Nor can we now rest satisfied, as our forefathers were, with an undiscriminating application to these cases of the theory which attributed all such works to the Druids. To what, then, must we go for an explanation? In this case, the name affords no clue to the solution of the problem. "Arthur's castle" is, of course, nothing but a fanciful designation, as devoid of authority as is the wholly imaginary mediæval setting of the life of a personage about whom we may truly be said to know nothing. Nor does the name "Mayburgh" help us farther. It evidently embodies the idea of a later time that it was a fortified, or, at least, a fenced place.

If

If we seek the testimony of relics, there are none, save two—the bronze and stone celts already mentioned as having been accidentally turned up in the inclosure. It is rather startling to read in the *Transactions* of this Society (vol. IV, p. 545) when the latter solitary specimen was exhibited, that, upon its sole evidence, the inference was reached that "this circular enclosure perhaps protected a settlement of Neolithic men." If similar articles were never found save in these inclosures, there might be force in the conclusion: but many antiquaries are scarcely aware how widely dispersed such objects are. A friend of mine—a specialist in this line—can hardly cross a field in many localities without picking up something of this kind.

We are then left to question the work itself, its situation, and its surroundings. The argument, handled with great ability by the late Mr. Fergusson, that nearly all such remains are solely sepulchral; and that, of those which are not sepulchral, the greater part are merely memorial; has, perhaps, been rather overstrained by him and by others who adopt his conclusions: and there may be some danger of our yielding too absolutely to the extreme reaction which has long set in against the absurd extravagancies which discredited, if they embellished, the Druid hypothesis. Now Mayburgh is not such a monument as would be likely to be raised in memory of some great victory; nor has anything yet been found which marks it as sepulchral.* What, then, could it have been? We learn that, in olden times, certain religious, legal, and other public and private acts or ceremonies, have not uncommonly been associated with conspicuous stones, either single, or grouped by

* Nothing seems to have been found in the *vallum* while the extensive burrowings therein for road stone were in progress. So far, the evidence against a sepulchral use may be regarded as positive: but it is negative in the case of the area, which, as I have already noted, has never been excavated. Until this shall have been done, the testimony of the spade must be regarded as very incomplete.

nature

nature or by man. Among these, stone-rings have held a prominent position. Upon a review of the whole subject —dimly lighted as it is—I am hardly able to avoid the conclusion that in Mayburgh we have that which suggests that its founders had some such purpose in view. It appears to me to rank with remains, such as Bryn Gwyn, which stand apart, bearing the marks of a *locus consecratus*. By what people established, we know too little to venture to guess; whether it be the work of the Northmen who over-ran and settled in these parts; or of those whom they dispossessed; or of some yet earlier race of whom we have a still more shadowy conception. Is it possible that the ash trees which flourish on the spot have a more than accidental connexion with it? And again, is it possible that the spring which wells forth between it and the high-road may have been one of the ruling incidents which determined the selection of the site?*

The Round Table: *What was its use*?—We are now on much firmer ground; and the limits within which we may wander are much narrower and better defined: so that, for once, the conclusions of those who have written on the subject are in close accord. Leland (admiring believer in Arthur though he was) has not ventured to speculate on this spot, glorified, as it has been, by association with the name of that hero of chivalry. He contents himself with simply recording that the earthwork is "a Ruine, as sum suppose, of a Castel." Bishop Gibson says, "'Tis possible enough that it might be a *Justing-place;*" adding,—"That it was never design'd for a place of strength, appears from the trench being on the in-side."† Stukeley writes:—"At first sight we may see that it was intended for sports, but not on horseback, because much too little." After giving

* It is hardly necessary to remind the reader of the sacred character which the ash bore in Scandinavia. In Iceland, *dom-rings* and springs are nearly always found associated.—*Viking Age*, I, 371.

† Camden's *Britannia*, ed. 1695, p. 817.

particulars

particulars of the southern ring-embankment, he remarks that "these two circles and the interval make 1000 foot in length; and there is just room enough without them, next the river and next the bank, for a *circus* or foot-race, according to the old manner of the Grecian, which were always celebrated by the sides of rivers; . . . and probably British chariots had here their courses." "After the religious duties [at Mayburgh] were over, they went down to the *circus* to celebrate their games: and I could not but admire the fine genius of these people in chusing places for their sports: for upon the verge of the acclivity, along the *circus*, an infinite number of people might stand to see the whole without the least inconvenience, besides those in the plain between the two circles; and these two circles admirably well executed the intent of the *meta's*, but much better than those in the Roman *circus's*." He adds:—"This is used to this day for a country rendezvous, either for sports or military exercises, shooting with bows, &c."* Pennant says:—"Some suppose this to have been designed for tilting matches, and that the champions entered at each opening. Perhaps that might have been the purpose of it; for the size forbids one to suppose it to be an encampment."† Four years later, however, on seeing the similar but larger rings at Thornborough, which, from their size, and in other respects, were much better suited to such exercises, he had seen reason somewhat to modify his opinion. He then says:—"The intent of these rings is cleared up by *Saxo Grammaticus*. [Lib. iii., p. 48, and Notes, p. 97]. Among the northern nations duels were fought within circles: if the combat was sudden, the spectators themselves formed the ring, as is customary with mobs from the days of Ajax to the present time. If

* *Itin. Curios.*, II, 43, 44. There is a perspective view of the Round Table and the southern ring, in both of which men are wrestling, while horse and foot races are in progress outside.

† *First Tour in Scotland*, 256.

the

the combatants were men of rank, and the cause important, then the ring was inclosed with pales, or with stones, or earth. This placed was called, in the old *Danish, Holmur;* a single combat, *Holm-ganga;* to enter into the ring *at gange a holm;* and the laws of duel *Holm-ganga leg.* The terraces were allotted for the numerous spectators, who sat round this arctic *amphitheatre;* the entrances placed opposite to each other, for the champions to enter at, to divide the field; and on the signal given by the heralds, to rush on each other, to make their *congressus.*" "I daresay the ring near Penrith, in Cumberland, was formed for the same purpose."* Hutchinson says:—"We were induced to believe this was an antient tilting ground, where justings had been held: the approaches seemed to answer for the career, and the circle appears sufficient for the champions to shew their dexterity in the use of the lance and horsemanship; the whole circus being capable of receiving a thousand spectators on the outer side of the ditch."† West held that the Round Table "may be presumed to have been a place of public exhibition for martial exercises."‡ Nicolson & Burn, that "it seems to have been a justing-place;" adding the rather amusing and superfluous supposition,—"and perhaps the knights, after justing and exercise, might dine here."§ "Mr. Albert Way, who visited Arthur's Round Table, described it as a Roman castrensian theatre in connection with the camp at Brougham."‖ Dr. Simpson "held that the table was indeed for a hoam-gang of the Norsemen, and was probably constructed a considerable

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* *Tour from Alston Moor to Harrowgate and Brimham Crags*, 49, 50, 51.

† *Exc. to the Lakes*, 90. Stukeley estimated that the annular space between the ditch and the top of the *vallum* "would hold at least 10,000 people." This is too large an estimate, as Hutchinson's is much too small. The real number who could stand closely packed in the space (leaving unoccupied a width of 50 ft. at each gangway) is 5,000.

‡ *Guide to the Lakes*, 7th ed., 167.

§ *Hist. and Ant. of Westm. and Cumb.*, I, 414.

‖ *Trans. Cumb. and Westm. Ant. Soc.*, IV, 545.

time

time before the Norman conquest, as a place on which duels were fought."*

Now it is easy to decide what the Round Table was not. Clearly it was not a camp. To Mr. Way's theory, it may be objected, (1) that it is a mile from Brougham, where a good site could easily have been secured; (2) that it does not resemble most other castrensian theatres with which we are acquainted; (3) that its form is identical with that of the group at Thornborough, which, I believe, are not near any Roman military station. The occurrence of the raised platform in the midst of the inclosure, as well as the narrowness of the limits, forbid us to suppose, with Gibson, Pennant, (first impression), Hutchinson, and Nicolson & Burn, that it was a tilting-ground. Nor do its interior arrangements seem such as to make it suitable for a "thing." We are thus left to accept either or both of the two remaining alternatives: for no more rational supposition has been, or is likely to be offered. The particular view ultimately taken will turn very much upon questions of date. It is said that many wrestling matches have been held within memory on this spot. Stukeley speaks of "sports and military exercises" as being practised there in his own day. Among these, boxing is likely to have held a prominent place: and if we can but go back far enough, what more likely than that we should find this a scene of the bloodier encounters of the *holm-ganga?* Now it is recorded that duelling was abolished in Norway (may we suppose also in our own country?) while Knut was on the throne of England.† Whether the Round Table was in existence before that time, who shall say? Judging from its state of preservation, my own impression is that it is not nearly so ancient. As to its age, there are but two sources from whence we can expect to get any light.

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* *Ibid.*
† *Viking Age*, I, 57c.

One

One would be the opening of the *tumuli* at Thornborough and at Scruton. Should these yield evidence of their probable connexion with the neighboring rings, the problem would be sufficiently solved; and we should have to carry these earthworks back into the earlier centuries of our era; and, perhaps, might safely attribute them to a Scandinavian origin. The other possible (though, I fear, now very improbable) source of information would be the discovery of the Roman road (if there was one) from Yanwath to Brougham. If it should be found to have taken (as most likely would be the case) the line of the present road,—having afterward become grassed over and lost;—then, it would follow that the Round Table, the northern end of which was destroyed in making the modern road, is *post*-Roman.

ART. XVII.—*An instance of Infant Marriage in the Diocese of Carlisle.* By MRS. HENRY WARE.

Communicated at Ambleside, Sept. 4th, 1889.

MY mind has been turned towards the subject of infant marriages by my acquaintance with Rukmabai, the Hindoo child-wife, and by the efforts which are now being made to bring about some modifications of the marriage laws and customs of India.

It is probably not generally known that infant marriages of a certain kind have been recognised in our own land within comparatively recent times. It seems certain that during the 16th and 17th centuries such marriages, or at all events betrothals, or contracts of a legal and permanent character, were not uncommon, and that there was a recognised way in which such contracts could be voided, if either party so wished, on arriving at the age of consent.

I am indebted to the Dean of Carlisle for the Canon law on the subject, which he has gathered from Lyndwood, as follows :—

> There can be no marriage without mutual consent. Therefore, infants, *i.e.*, children under 7 years of age may be espoused to each other, but such espousal is not binding, either for espousal, unless confirmed by the parties after 7 years of age; or for marriage, unless confirmed after the marriageable age, *i.e.*, 14 for a boy, 12 for a girl. At the age of 14 and 12 a contract of espousal may be cancelled; but this effect will remain that neither of the two can marry a blood relation of the other. Espoused children may be married when one or both are under the marriageable age, on occasion of necessity, *pro bono pacis*, *i.e.* it is explained for the union and reconciliation of persons or families, acquisition of wealth and friendship.

A paper read by J. P. Earwaker, Esq., during the meeting of the Archæological Institute at Chester, but not

not yet published, gave several interesting particulars on this subject; the writer called attention to the fact that information must be sought in the records of the Consistory Courts and not in the parish registers, inasmuch as there is generally no notice in the older church registers of the ages of parties recorded as having been married. I have not been able to obtain a sight of his paper, which was of great interest, and which I hope may be published in some form, but, so far as I can remember, he stated that young children were contracted in marriage and the form of service was gone through; they then returned to the care of their respective parents, and when the time came for fulfilling their engagement, if both consented, no further ceremony was necessary; but if one of the parties objected the matter was taken into the Consistory Court, and the Chancellor either ratified or annulled the contract. Mr. Earwaker quoted many extracts from the records of the Chester Consistory Court in proof of his statement, some of them very funny ones, such as that the bridegroom had never been a consenting party, that he had had to be enticed to the altar with promises of sweetmeats, and had never kissed his baby bride or given her any cakes or toys since. Many of these so-called marriages seem to have been annulled. I have searched the records of the Carlisle Consistory Court, beginning with the year 1606 down to 1684, but, unfortunately, the volumes between 1608 and 1663 are missing, (they were probably destroyed during the Commonwealth); this is specially disappointing as the only reference to a case of infant marriage occurs in the volume for 1608, in which the defendant was ordered to appear before the Court at its next sitting for the hearing of matrimonial causes, and it would have been interesting had it been possible, to follow the cause to its conclusion. The entry to which I refer is as follows :—

Kirkby

Kirkby Stephen.

Eisdem die et loco comparuit procter Mergera Dowthwait et allegavit quod fuit contracta in ejus impubertate cum quodam Thomas Ffawcett cum condicione sequenti Vizt. that if she should refuse to marrie with him when she came to lawfull yeares of consent it should be lawful for the said Ffawcett to take the forfeiture mensioned in the condicons or articles of the same, and if Ffawcett should refuse her then she to take ye like forfeite, et petiit indicat (?) ut solemnizetur cum dicto Ffawcett alledging that she was willing to have him to her husband according to ye said articles Et quia dictus vir non comparuit dominus (i.e. the Chancellor) decrevit diem citandi fore in proximo hoc in loco in causa matrimoniali.

As the parish registers at Kirkby Stephen do not commence so early I have not been able to find the entry of this marriage or contract.

In Bishop Nicolson's Miscellany Accounts of the Diocese of Carlisle (p. 108) referring to the Register at Threlkeld there is a passage which may possibly have a bearing on this subject. He says:—"Before we shut this Book, we must observe one extraordinary Custome of the place, to be proved by it. Formal Contracts of Marriage are herein Recorded; and Sureties enter'd for the payment of five Shillings to the poor, by the party that *draws back*." This custom may be connected with the contracts between children. It is improbable that so accurate a man as Bishop Nicolson should have made a complete mistake, but I am informed by the present Incumbent that there is nothing whatever to be found of this nature in the registers at Threlkeld, the entries of which date from 1572. (It has been suggested by Mr. Lees that the Bishop mistook some entries of the loan of the Poor's Stock, but it seems to me more probable that the Bishop made an error with regard to the parish in which he saw the Register to which he refers.)

There is a notice in the Chronicle of Lanercost which has an undoubted bearing on the subject of this paper. It runs as follows:—

A.D

A.D. 1313.

Eodem anno dominus Thomas de Multuna, dominus Gilieslandiæ, sexto kalendas Decembris [ ] obiit, unicam filiam heredem, nomine Margaretam, post se reliquit, quam Robertus de Clifford, filius Roberti de eadem, septimo suæ ætatis anno, apud Hoffe, *ipso lecto decubante*, desponsavit. Et vivente dicto Roberto, Ranulphus de Daker filius domini Willelmi de Daker, eundem Margaretam nupsit, quia jus habuit ad illam propter pactionem factam ante priores nuptias, inter Thomam de Multuna, patrem dictæ Margaretæ, et Willelmum de Daker.

The Dean of Carlisle thus renders the passage :—

"In the same year 1313 on Nov. 27 Lord Thomas of Multon, Lord of Gilsland died, leaving an only daughter, Margaret, his heiress, whom Robert of Clifford, son of Robert of Clifford betrothed at Hoffe, being in his 7th year, he himself lying in the bed, and though this Robert was alive, Ranulph of Dacre son of William of Dacre married this Margaret, for he had a right to her on account of a contract made before her first marriage (*i.e.*, betrothal) between Thomas of Multon father of the said Margaret and William of Dacre."

From this it would seem (see also Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Society, vol. IV, p. 469), that the betrothal or marriage of Margaret to Robert de Clifford ("ipse lecto decubante" is an allusion to one of the ceremonies which accompanied the hand-fasting in these infant weddings) was void by reason of her "priores nuptias" with Ranulph de Dacre, and her elopement with him (at the age of seventeen) was justified.

A curious account of marriage and betrothal customs will be found in Brand's Popular Antiquities (vol. II, p. 54) but there is nothing bearing specially on infant marriage.

I cannot but feel that this essay on Infant Marriage is of a somewhat meagre kind; it is the result, however, of not a little searching and enquiry. It is not my fault that the harvest has been thin, and it may possibly

possibly suggest to persons in other dioceses to examine the records of the Consistory Courts for the purpose of obtaining more information and evidence. I can only wish them more abundant success than I have met with myself.

I began this paper by a reference to the Hindoo lady Rukmabai; in closing it I cannot refrain from suggesting that perhaps a partial cure for the miseries attendant upon infant marriage in India might be found in permitting persons contracted in infancy to obtain a release from their contract by sentence of a competent Court to which, as in England, application might be made by either party on reaching the age of consent.

APPENDIX.

The following letters from the Rev. T. Lees, F.S.A., and from Professor Clark, F.S.A., refer to the translation of the passage from the Lanercost Chronicle.—

Wreay, Decr. 9th, 1889.

Dear Ferguson—That passage from the Lanercost Chronicle is an old friend, and has long been a puzzle to me; but, at last, I think I see my way to its true meaning. This I take to be a true interpretation :—

In the same year (i.e. A.D. 1314) Lord Thomas de Multon, Lord of Gilsland, on the 6th day before the kalends of December [ ] died, he left behind him an only daughter as heir whose name was Margaret, whom Robert de Clifford, son of Robert of the same ilk, in the 7th year of her age, betrothed at Hoff, he himself lying on the outside of the bed. And during the life-time of the said Robert, Ranulph de Daker, son of Lord William de Daker, married the same Margaret, because he had a right to her on account of a compact made before her former nuptials, between Thomas de Multon, father of the said Margaret and William de Daker.

The man lying outside the bed of his betrothed, may have been one of the customs of the time. When Marie de Valois, Duchess Burgundy, in 1477, was married by proxy to the Archduke Maximilian, the Duke of Bavaria (Maximilian's substitute) slept with the princess after the custom of the times. Both were in complete dress, watched by four guards, and separated by a naked sword. Evidently Margaret's marriage with Robert de Clifford was never consummated; or she

she could not so easily have been wedded to William Dacre, without apparently any ecclesiastical proceedings in the way divorce or dispensation. THOMAS LEES.

"Remove the bridegroom," said Aladdin to the genie. . . . On Aladdin being left alone with the princess. . . . he then laid himself down beside her, putting a drawn scimitar between them.
ARABIAN NIGHTS.

Newnham House,
Cambridge, Dec. 13th, 1889.

My dear Ferguson—On the whole I think I agree with Lees, except that I render *suæ* of *his* age, which the other records require, and the Latin will bear; and I translate *ipso lecto decubante* "he himself lying *apart* from her in the bed."

Decubare is not a very common word, but the passage quoted in the Lexicons from Fabius Pictor (apud Aulum Gellium, x, 15), suits this passage. The Flamen Dialis never sleeps three continuous nights *away from* his proper bed "de eo lecto trinoctium continuum non decubat." I think, however, it must be here "away *from her*, *in* the bed." I do not think *decubare* ever means to lie *ill* in bed, tho' possibly *decumbere* may have once or twice borne that sense.

The most extraordinary piece of Latinity is the transitive *nupsit*, of which I can find no other instance, but for which I see no help.

ART. XVIII.—*The Dacre Stone.* By the REV. CANON MATHEWS.

Read at Dacre, July 5th, 1889.

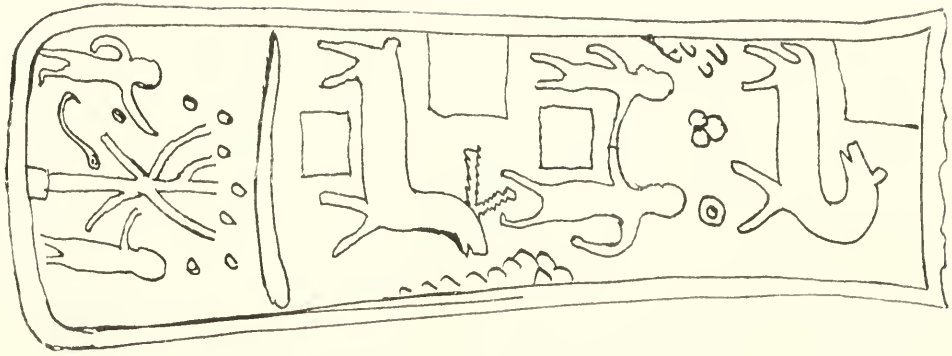
THE stone, of which the accompanying sketch is given, was found during the restoration of Dacre church in 1875, imbedded in the east end wall of the church, when that was being pulled down for the insertion of the new east window. It is a pink gray sandstone of a grit very similar to the local quarries. The length is 3 ft. 2 inches, greatest breadth at the bottom 14 inches, and least width near the top 11 inches. Its thickness is 4 inches; the back roughly chipped, the sides ornamented with a rope-work border. It has obviously formed a portion of a larger whole, from the broken edge at the top, just as it begins to spread out from its narrowest width; but the sculpture on the front appears complete, from the fact of the bordering line being returned across the top.

The carving on the front is both interesting and difficult to decipher. There is first a figure which Mr. Calverley says is a lamb, but I had taken to be a horse :—then a little foliage to the left, a trefoil, and circle with pellet. Then two figures, a larger and smaller seemingly striking hands over a rude altar,—the branches of a tree to the right with a stag reaching to nibble them, and below a curving line which I think is a serpent. Below is a tree with spreading branches, with pellets (perhaps fruit) all round it, two human figures reaching each a hand to the tree, and a small snake clearly marked curving under the lower branches.

Upon the symbolism I do not like to pronounce. The first general assumption was that it represented Adam and Eve, and Cain and Abel, and that the stone was the lower limb of a rude cross, of which it does give a very strong impression.

The

Dacca Stone



Scale 1½ Inch to 1 Foot

The objection to this is that there is not a single distinctly Christian emblem on the whole stone: while every one of the figures has a symbolic meaning in Norse paganism. If *(pace* Mr. Calverley) the upper figure is a horse, that is the sacred animal of Freya,—the three pellets represent Thor, Odin, and Frey,—the circle with pellet Freya. Then we have the sacred ash Yggdrasil, with the stag nibbling its shoots, and the serpent Nidhog at its roots. (The stag also a sacred animal to Frey). Below we have again a sacred tree and serpent, with (?) Thor gathering its fruit.

If, however, the upper figure is that of a lamb, it undoubtedly will represent Christ, and its position in the sculpture generally would shew the triumph of Christianity over Paganism. The central scene of the two figures and what seems to be a rude altar I cannot pronounce upon. Their attitude is that rather of amity than hostility,—which is against the theory of Cain and Abel. I should like to think that it could have been carved to represent the treaty made at the monastery which stood on this spot between Eugenius (Owain) the last independent king of the native Cumbrians, and Athelstan, in 926: when "the barbarians without delay coming to a place called Dacor surrendered themselves and their kingdoms to the sovereign of England. Out of regard to this treaty, the King himself stood for the son of Constantine,* who was ordered to be baptized at the sacred font." (Wm. of Malmesbury.) The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says of this, that "they confirmed the peace by pledges and by oaths at the place which is called Eamot (the river Eamont which flows within a mile of Dacre) on the 4th before the Ides of July (this day 963 years ago), *and they renounced all idolatry* and submitted to him after that in peace."

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*King of Scotland, who accompanied Eugenius. The large hall at Dacre Castle adjoining is still called "the room of the Three Kings."

If

If it is legitimate to think that this stone represents this treaty, and the triumph of Christianity over the Paganism which still lingered among the Cumbrians after so many conversions, it will be one of the most interesting memorials that we have in the country of Strathclyde. I can only submit it as a conjecture to this meeting, without any doubt that there will be "*quot homines tot sententiæ.*"

NOTE BY THE REV. W. S. CALVERLEY, F.S.A.

The Dacre Stone, of which I give a drawing, is the shaft of a cross almost complete. The head has been broken away. The sculpture of the whole face of the shaft is seen. The plaitwork of three strands on the edge terminates correctly. We may not say what form the head and arms took, but the upper figure, which is a lamb, corresponds in position and very closely also in form, with the upper figure on the much larger and very differently shaped cross at Penrith, the head of which is itself decorated with a raised cross having a central boss. The head, and it may be a few inches of plain stone at the bottom, is all that is wanting of this remarkable and most interesting piece of work, perfect in proportion, and of very great merit in conception and design.

The artist has divided the surface of the stone into four panels above each other. In the lower panel he has figured the temptation; in the centre stands the tree bearing fruit in groups of threes, a fruit bearing branch hanging down on either side; to the left Eve, draped, takes the fruit, whilst one apple falls, and the serpent raising itself with open mouth appears as the tempter; to the right Adam stretches out his hand to the tree. In the next panel, the stag is hunted by the hound, a fit picture of the life of effort in a fallen world. The hart has held its place in symbolism through all the ages. In the panel above, two men join hands in peaceful compact over a square stone* font standing on two short supports, and over them the sun sign, or a three limbed sign is seen (this part of the work is damaged). In the uppermost division the Lamb walks triumphant, for the world, the flesh, and the devil may not compass the abiding death of him who is alive through Christ.

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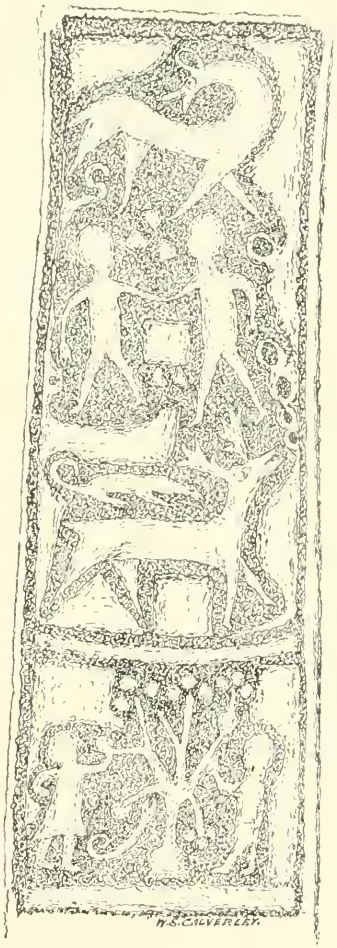
* Such a square stone font may be seen in Gilcrux Church.

This



DACRE CROSS SHAFT

This, I think, is the reading of the picture writing—the regeneration of christian baptism is placed in apposition to the fall; the lamb once slain but ever living as our Blessed Lord, is placed in apposition to the hunted stag. Baptism and the resurrection of the dead is the teaching. Outside the real design there is no attempt at ornamentation, or very little indeed.

The workman whose skill may be seen in his treatment of the horns, shape, and movement of the stag, and in the general proportions of his figures, has not cut away the stone at the sides, between the legs of the animals, and in other places; but has left his work in simplicity, to tell its own story without adornment of any kind.

In searching for facts which might bear upon the history of the Penrith crosses, the circumstances of Athelstan's visit to Cumbria were forcibly brought to my notice, and about the same time Canon Mathews sent me his notes upon this Dacre cross shaft, which I had not seen. Now that I have seen the stone, I find no reason to alter my opinion, namely, that the whole thing is christian, that it commemorates the compact of the kings, and that the date 926 is not too early for its production.

ART. XIX.—*Pre-Norman Cross Fragments at Aspatria, Workington, Distington, Bridekirk, Gilcrux, Plumbland, and Isell.* By REV. W. S. CALVERLEY, F.S.A., Vicar of Aspatria.

Communicated at Penrith, July 4th, and Ambleside, Sept. 6th, 1889.

HEREWITH I give ten pages of drawings, all from photographs taken for me by our member, Mr. W. L. Fletcher, of Stoneleigh, Workington, to whom I desire to express my gratitude and the thanks of the Society.

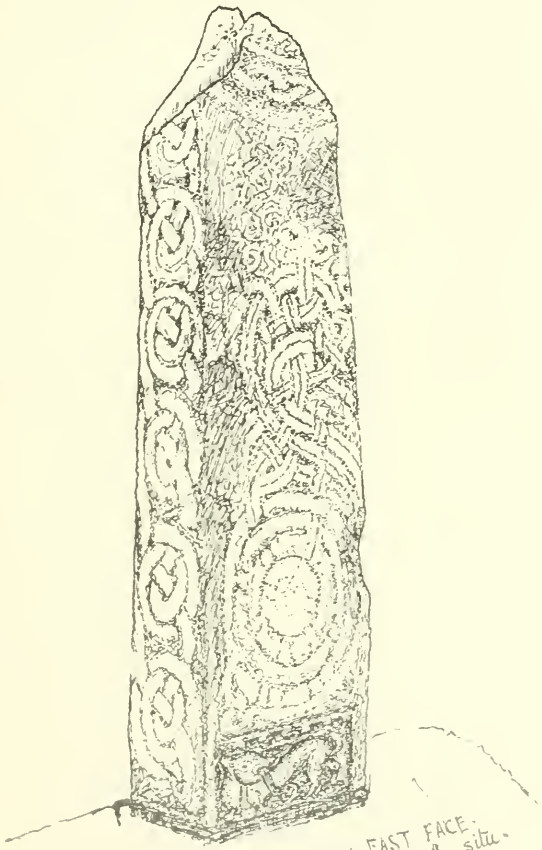
Dimensions.—I., II., III., shew Aspatria cross, still standing in its own socket stone measuring 30 ins. by 26 ins., level with the ground surface in the churchyard, forty yards to the south of the church. Height 4 ft. 6 inches, width at top beneath the curve of the circular head which has been destroyed, 14½ inches, width at bottom where the shaft enters the socket, 18 inches, thickness at top 7½ inches, at bottom 8½ inches. Red sandstone.

IV.—Shews the face and reverse of a fragment of a cross shaft 12 in. by 12 in. by 3½ in. thick, with a smaller fragment of one of the arms of the same or of a similar cross, 7 in. by 4 in. by 2½ inches thick. Light coloured sandstone. I refer to the upper drawing as shewing the Distington Triskele fragment, the sign appearing to the right.

V.—Gives the greater part of a cross head having arms and central boss with raised ring, 16 in. by 14 in. by 5½ inches thick. Also a part of a cross head, which has been knocked off square by the builders for walling purposes when it was bedded into the old church wall. The lime mortar obscures the ancient carving, but the boss, raised ring, and the meandering spiral work in relief are sufficiently clear to fix the type, 9 in. by 8½ in. by 5 in. thick. Light coloured sandstone. Distington.

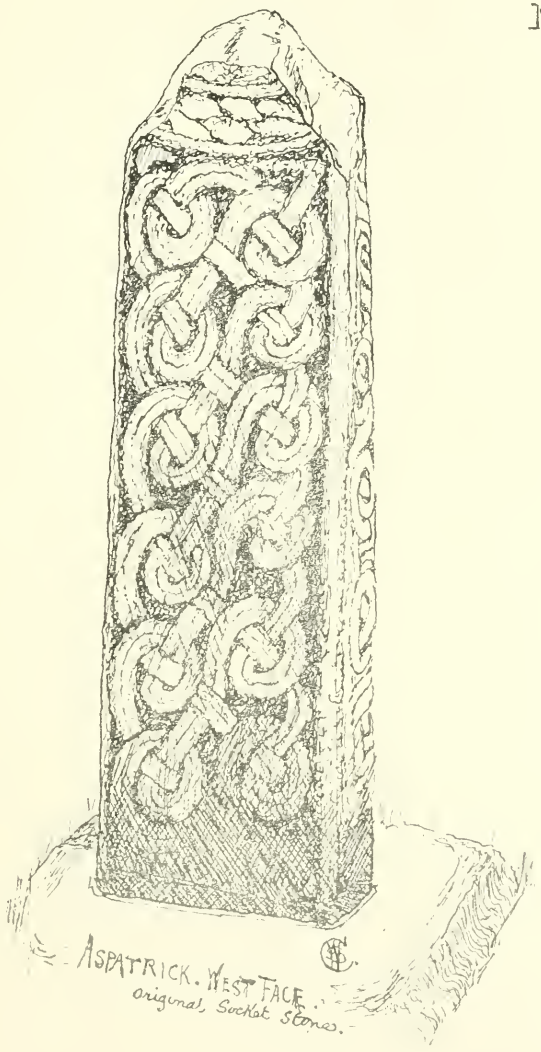
VI.

No 1.



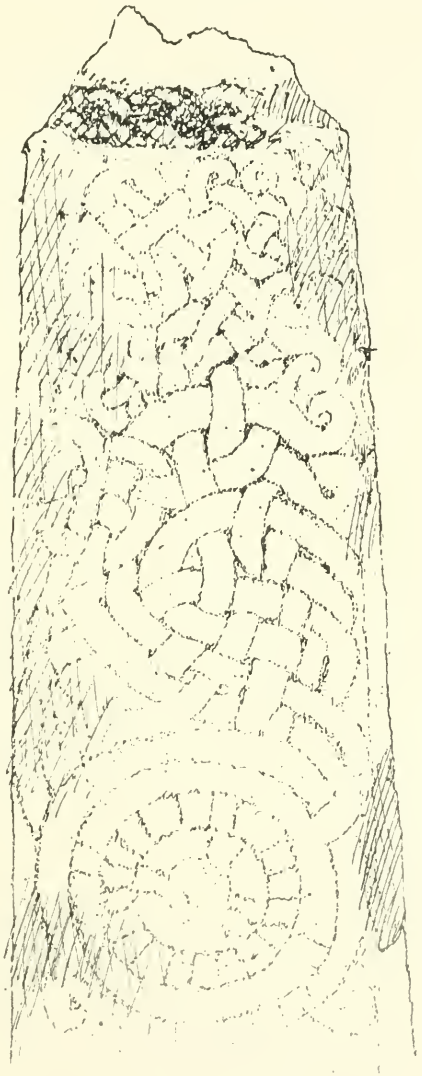
ASPATRICK EAST FACE. In situ.

No. II



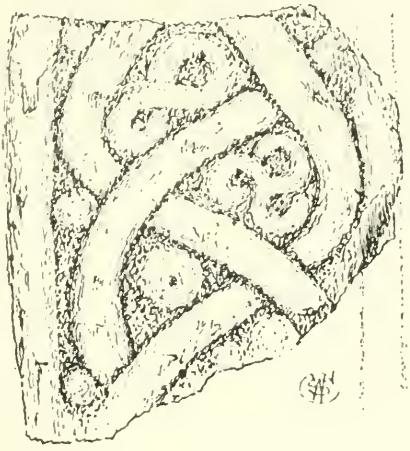
ASPATRICK. WEST FACE.
original Socket Stones.

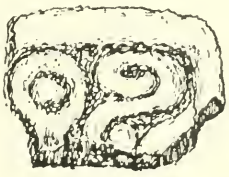
No. III



EAST FACE outline of design as seen.

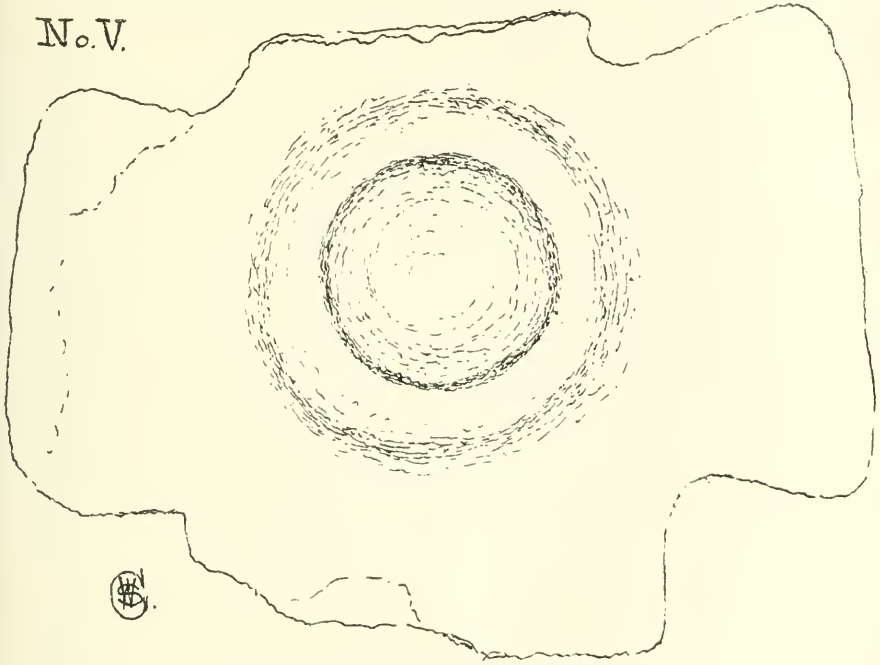
No. IV.





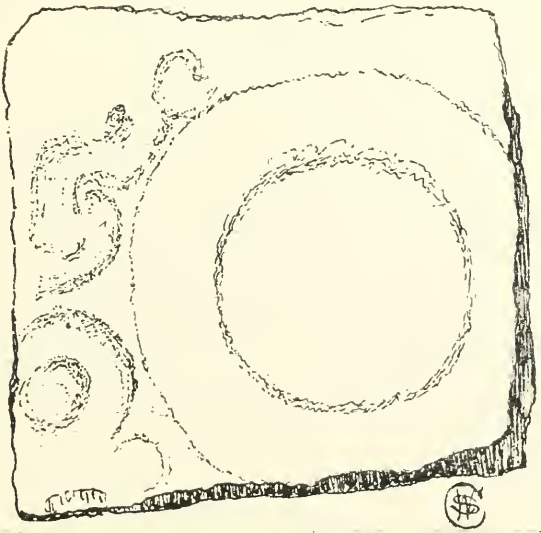
CROSS FRAGMENTS, DISTINGTON.

No. V.



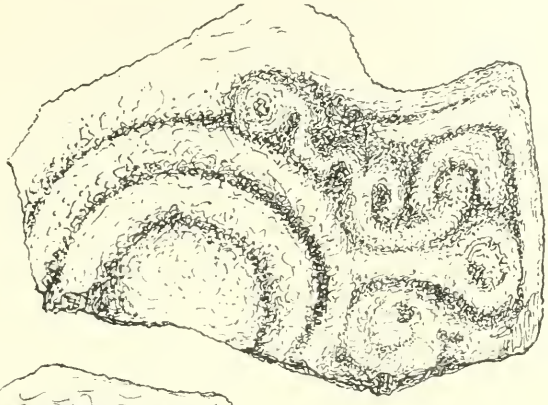
FRAGMENTS OF HEADS OF CROSSES.

DISTINGTON

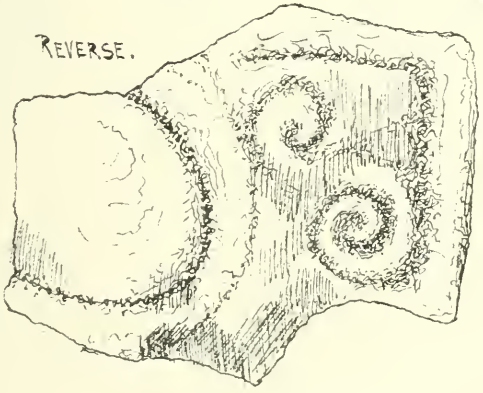


VI.

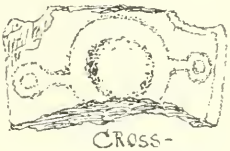
FACE.



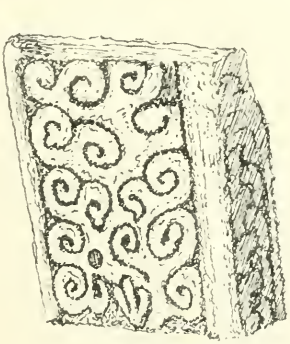
REVERSE.

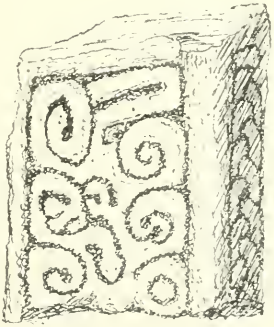


FRAGMENT OF CROSS-
-HEAD AT
BRIDE KIRK.



CROSS-
CANONBY

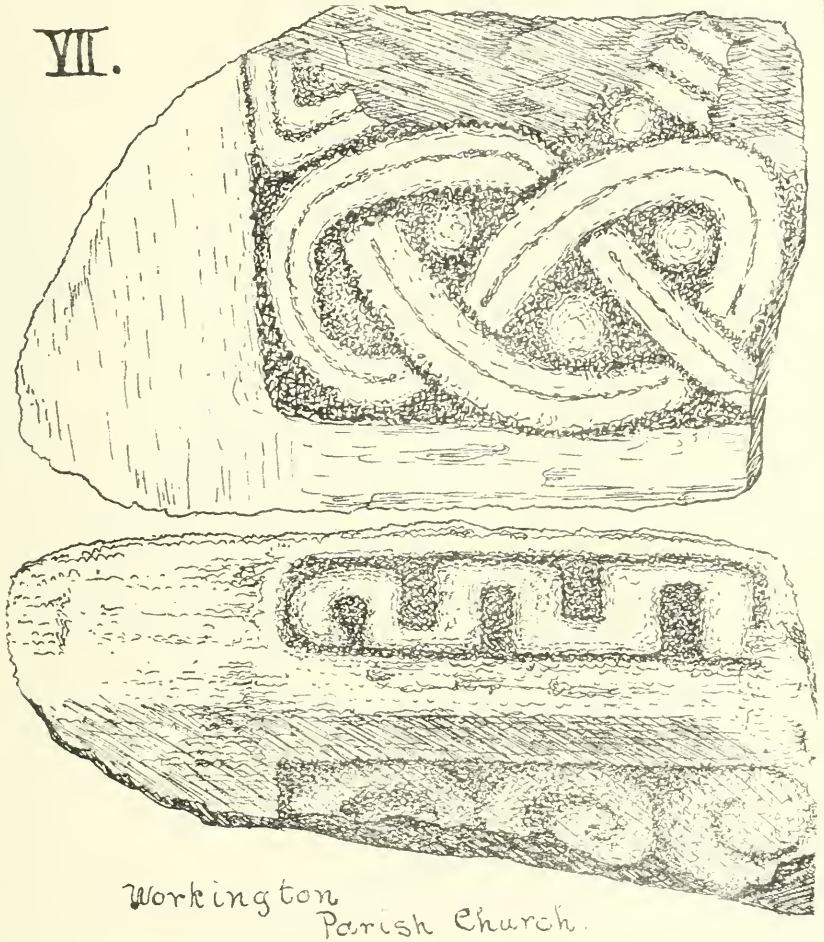




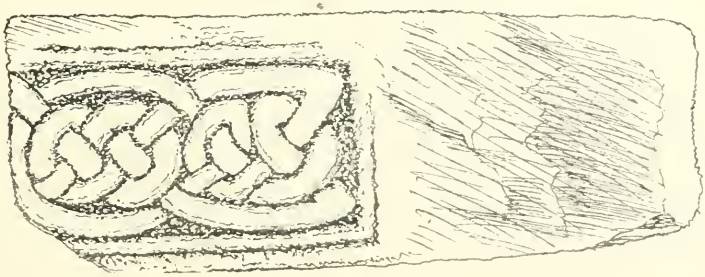
FRAGMENT OF CROSS SHAFT. two sides.

ISELL

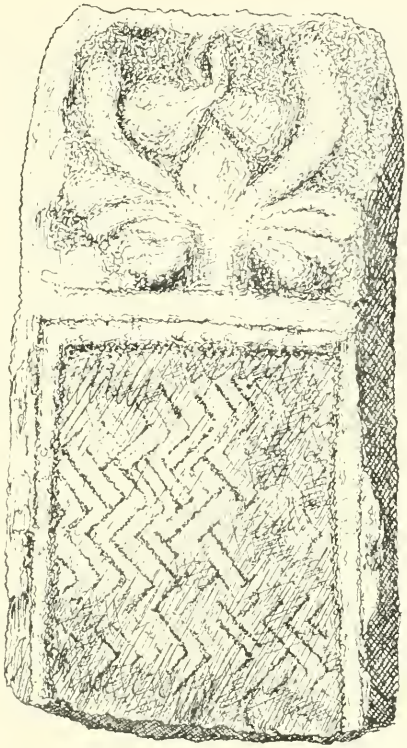
VII.

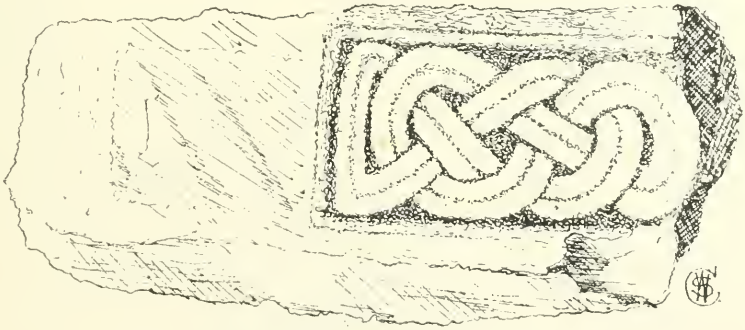


Workington
Parish Church.



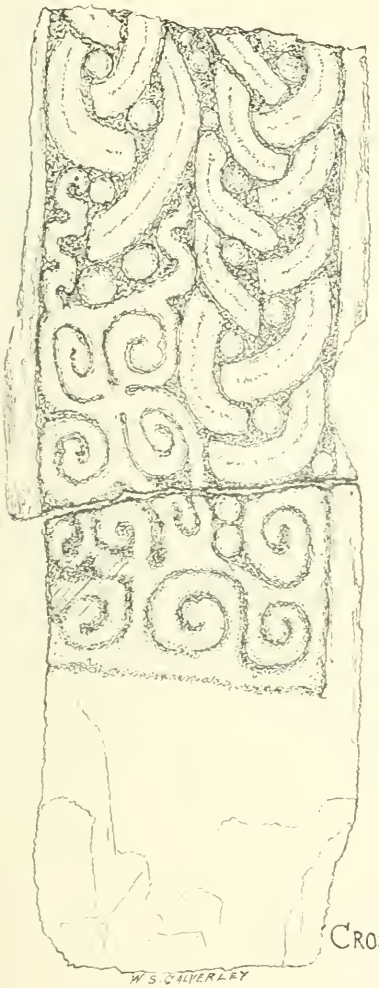
VIII.

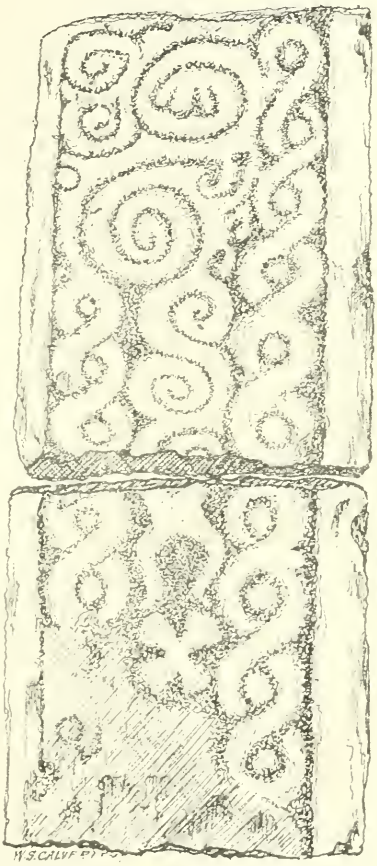




PARISH CHURCH WORKINGTON. S. MICHAEL.

IX.

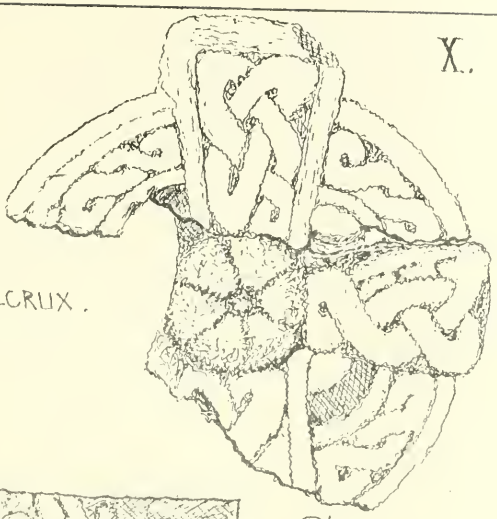




CROSS SHAFTS ASPATRIA FORMERLY ASPATRICK

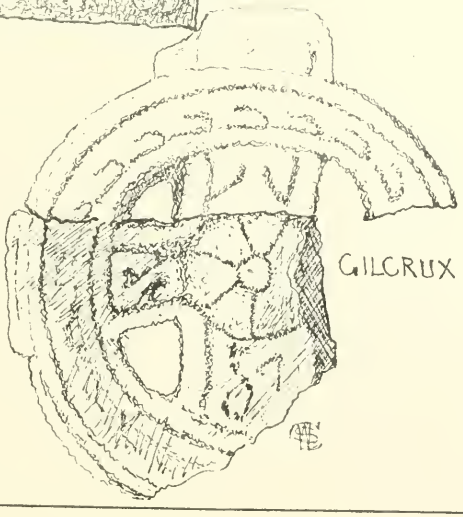
PART OF SMALL HEAD LATER

X.



GILCRUX.

PLUMBLAND.



GILCRUX.

VI.—Two sides of boss and arm of a cross head at Bridekirk :—double raised ring and projected arm with small boss at the end, surrounded with raised spiral work on the face ; flatter boss with single raised ring and spirals on the back. White sandstone.

The two arms with boss, raised ring and lateral extensions in the arms, at Cross Canonby. White sandstone.

The two sides of a fragment with rather rough and flat spiral-like design at Isell. White sandstone. 19 in. by 16½ in. by 6½ in. thick.

VII.—Two sides and one edge of white sandstone, 20 in. by 13 in. by 5½ in. thick. Also one edge of the fragment figured in VIII. white sandstone, 14 in. long, 5½ in. thick at the lower sculptured end, tapering to 5 in. thick at the opposite end, to the left in the drawing. Workington.

VIII.—Upper part of cross shaft with arms and top broken off. White sandstone. 14 in. by 7½ in. Also one edge of the same 14 in. by 5½ in., tapering to 5 in. Workington.

IX.—White sandstone cross shaft, broken across, length 3 ft. 9½ in. by 16 in. in widest part. Two pieces of a white sandstone cross shaft, the lower fragment 16 in. by 15 in., the upper one 20 in. long by 15 in. across the lower, and 13½ inches across the upper end ; thickness six inches. Also a small piece. Aspatria.

X.—Two sides of broken red sandstone circular cross head at Gilcrux. Greatest diameter 15½ inches. Also Triskele fragment of shaft from Plumbland. White sandstone, 17 inches by 14 inches. Built into tower wall within.

Reference to these dimensions is necessary as the photographs could not be produced on a uniform scale.

Here are twelve relics from pre-Norman times, which have never before been engraved or made known ; the Cross

Cross Canonby head alone having been noticed. (Part I, vol. V, p. 154.)

They furnish specimens of at least six styles of art and ornamentation, and they appear to spread over a period beginning soon after the close of the Roman occupation, and embracing periods of settlement or colonization by Teutonic peoples on the Solway coast at a very early date. They may also serve to remind us of a more purely Northern influence, for at the base of the east face of the Aspatria standing cross, beneath the tangled strands and convolutions which appear to have been woven into a pattern or web (of life) which might have been copied from one of the ancient MS. Gospels, we see the devouring wolflike progeny of mankind's enemy (death or hell, Fenris or Helia) bound, unable to hurt where the cross triumphs. This cross has been copied and set up at Bowness in memory of the Rev. S. Medlicott.

The circular head, the curve of which may be seen, and which would be something like the head of the Dearham standing cross, has been purposely knocked off, but the stem was so strong that it withstood the mad storm, and, indeed, served for long (it is said) as a pillar to which horses and cattle could be tied to be claimed on the Sunday; even this usage failed to overthrow the silent witness of the Truth of the ages, which stands firm to-day in its own native red sandstone socket stone.

Whoever set up this cross quarried a great block of living stone; they did not even weaken it by squaring down to get a perfect surface, but worked upon the face almost as it left the quarry. Notice the hollowed surface beneath the north-east shoulder.

The north edge bears broad rings, with two crossing bands as its ornament.

Two of the predecessors of this cross (IX) are in sorrier case, but enough of them is left to furnish interesting links in

in our christian pedigree. The remains of each of these two earlier crosses consists of two pieces.

One shaft shews spirals near the bottom, massed in a manner reminding one of the curved svastika on the Dearham fragment (Vol. VII, p. 290,) with two pieces of plaitwork of three double strands having bosses worked in every available space; this seems to have been a tall, broad, and thin cross fixed in the ground without a socket stone. The line marking off the carved from the uncarved part is not horizontal, and the work is irregular. It is the lower part which remains.

The other shaft has two broad bands passing round bosses similar to the back of the Dearham stone (Vol. VII, p. 292,) along each side of a central scroll; in the lower part are the body and legs of a man above a svastika of of solid form; the man is hoisted up in the air a sacrifice to the God of heaven, to heathen minds it might be a victim hurled to Odin, to christians the God man (the sun of righteousness)—the svastika is the sun sign—raised on the cross. In the upper part the scroll enlarges, and the space to the left is filled with spirals which take the place of the bands and bosses. A portion is missing between the two pieces of this shaft. The scroll work in the centre of the upper fragment, if continued downward would appear like the work on the Dearham stone before-named. A precisely similar raised scroll ornaments the edge of this cross, and the reverse is covered with spirals.

This work is such as might be the result of the free-working of British native artists following their idea of the scroll work and plaited patterns on Roman pavements, &c., in the years following the decay of the Roman civilization consequent upon the retirement of the legions.

The very small piece of redstone interlacing shewn is probably of much later date.

The Distington stones, IV, V, are parts of three cross heads and of a shaft. All are of the type having central boss

boss with rings. One (V.) is so much weather worn that no tracing of older design is found upon it, it thus resembles the newly discovered Bromfield cross. (Art. XII, p. 120 of this vol.)

Another shews the meandering raised twining work like that on the Dearham head (Part I, vol. V.) and so well shewn on the Bridekirk relic (VI.)

A third shews the round bossed end of the projecting central arm within the cross arm (IV) with an S shaped curve alongside: this may be part of the cross of which the piece figured with it formed a part, and which is of later date than the other two heads; its ornament contains the triskele sign, an 8 shaped figure and a large boss with central depression within the divisions formed by the broad bands of a three stranded plait. At the break in the lower portion may have been a svastika within another space, so little remains of the sign that I can only express the opinion.

I think we have here the very early British cross heads followed by a later but still early cross, of a period when the Saxon "ton" (tun) had become a part of the place name Distington, through the settlement there of men to whom the symbol with the three curved legs and other signs as the 8 shaped figure, and the boss with hollow centre were familiar. (The triskele is used here no doubt in place of the well known triquetra form at Gosforth, part II, vol. VI, p. 394, Aspatria, part II, vol. IX, p. 466, to signify the Trinity). This sign is cut in relief at Isell, pt. I, Vol. IX, p. 29., and at Plumbland.

The spirals of the early crosses arrange themselves in threes and in the S form, as though it were the aim to lead the mind to the christian doctrines by the use of symbols already recognized.

These fragments were brought to our notice by the Rev. W. G. C. Hodgson, vicar, after the rebuilding of the church: they have all been used as building stuff, and the weathering

weathering is the work of the centuries before they were imbedded in the old church.

The Bridekirk head (VI) has much lime sticking to it. It is a good illustration of its type, and seems to link the old Norman church from which it was taken with the far past of the times of the saint of its dedication,—St. Bridget.

The spirals on both sides of the Isell stone are very noticeable. The work is unfinished, being picked out rather than worked in relief. A piece of the same cross has been built by the vicar, Rev. W. H. Sharpe, into the west wall of the porch, within. At the bottom of the drawing to the left hand will be seen a broad arrow, point downward; this would be the sacred emblem of Woden. In Gautrick's saga,* the "sacrificer marks the victims breast with a spear point, and devotes him to Woden, while the halter is round his neck, after which he is hanged." The ceremony of marking to Woden is noticed both in Yuglinga and elsewhere by Ari. The spear is as characteristic of Woden as the hammer is of Thor. The cross itself is the gallows on which the victim is hanged. The tree, the ash Yggdrasil, is the horse of the hanged one—the gallows. The cross of Christ and the ash Yggdrasil of the northern tribes bore a like meaning, at a certain time, to the mixed peoples on this coast.

At Waberthwaite near Muncaster, towards the more southern limit of Copeland which was filled with Scandinavian settlements, you may see the churchyard great cross with the horse clearly sculptured on its face. Lord Muncaster has lately had this cross shaft taken from its false position of lintel to the church porch, and fixed upright in its own socket stone, which stood waiting for its owner's return, near by. A smaller shaft lies in the vestry.

* The Rev. T. Lees, M.A., F.S.A., very kindly drew my attention to the extract from Vigfusson. The subject must be treated separately when other remains are at hand.

The

The more northern parts of Copeland, the border of the Strathclyde whose southern boundary was the Derwent, abound in sculptures of a less pronounced northern type. It would appear that the native races and anglic or so called Saxon colonies chiefly held sway here.

During the work done at the parish church of Workington, S. Michael's, since the fire, two fragments have been taken from the vault of the Curwen family, where they had been used as building material. They are both of white sandstone. A plait with bosses in the spaces is seen on one side (VII) whilst on the edge is the key pattern ending in a curve, and on the other side part of an uncommon design of spirals.

The (paradise) tree appears in the upper part of the other fragment (VIII) above a finely worked geometrial pattern such as seen in the book of Kells and other early MSS. formed of H shaped lines set diagonally.

On either side of the tree, the arms of the cross formerly extended; these have been cut away, most likely by the workmen who built up the vault. The two edges have knotwork finishing off square beneath the cross arms, see horizontal drawings VII, VIII, where the uncarved portion shews the position of the cross arms.

The fragment which was formerly built into the tower (vol. IX, p. 458) has been taken out, and proves to be worked on all sides with plait work of wythes. The building committee intend to fix up these valuable sculptures in the west porch—tower—of the church. The Rev. T. Hackworth and the clerk of the works have been very careful of all historic finds.

Several years ago workmen engaged in Gilcrux churchyard found the upper part of the Gilcrux circular crosshead X. It was broken into two small pieces which they hid in a drain, and afterwards took to Mr. Robinson of Maryport, who made a cast, which I now possess.

At

At the alteration of the chancel lately, the Rev. J. C. Pigott, vicar, discovered beneath the altar, the lower part of a head, being the boss, the greater part of two of the arms and a quarter of the wheel; on placing the casts and the newly-found stone together, more than half the cross head was revealed. It resembles the Dearham Standing Cross, but it is much smaller, very roughly worked, and apparently unfinished. This cross has been reproduced as a foot stone to the grave of the late H. A. Spedding, of Mirehouse, in Bassenthwaite churchyard with a copy of the Dearham Standing Cross as a head-stone.

The Plumbland triskele fragment was walled into the church tower at the time of the rebuilding and has remained unnoticed. It bears a rude spiral running scroll between pieces of plaitwork of divided strands, having triskele signs, 8 shaped figure, bosses, and svastika-like raised surface between the strands, and points I think to a Teutonic settlement at a very early time.

These and other remains when illustrated and thus brought together, for comparison, &c. may give valuable testimony to a history which has so far only been written in stone.

The evidence of the various settlements of Northmen and Teutons in Strathclyde, as well as that of the earliest missions amongst the native races cannot fail to be interesting and useful.

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